Facts on "Gone With the Wind" *by James Dugan*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

January 23, 1940

George Seldes

THE ART OF NEWS FAKING

Debunking the News from Finland

V. I. Lenin

WAR AND PEACE AIMS

First English Translation

William Blake

THE WELL OF INDIGNATION

Remarks about Ralph Bates

The West Coast's Awake *by Mike Quin*

The Weasels *by Shaemas O'Sheel*

Guinea Pig Conservation *by John Cameron*

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Between Ourselves

WE WILL shortly publish a series of articles by Theodore Draper telling the true history of the negotiations between the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and Germany prior to the signing of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. Louis Fischer has been falsifying the history of these negotiations, in the *Nation*. Mr. Draper will tell the story as it really happened. He was in Europe throughout this whole period, gathering material for his forthcoming book, *The Crisis of the Western World,* to be published by Modern Age Books.

Enthusiastic letters have come in from a number of readers concerning the suggestion made in this department two weeks ago that NM arrange bi-weekly luncheon discussion meetings. We have already started preparations and hope shortly to announce the first of these affairs—place, speaker, date, etc. The question that is still undecided is whether to have them Saturday afternoon, starting at one o'clock, or Sunday at noon. Letters from readers thus far seem to be about evenly divided on this point. Let's hear from more of our readers before we decide.

The editors of this magazine urgently need old copies of the original *Masses* and the *Liberator* for the years 1911 to 1925. Our files are devoid of dozens of issues which we hope readers will volunteer to contribute to us. In replying please list the numbers of the volumes and issues available to complete the office file.

Forums sponsored by various organizations using speakers provided by NM include the following:

Joseph Starobin speaks Friday, January 19, at the Progressive Forum, 430 Sixth Ave., N. Y. C., at 8:15 p.m. on "The War Against the Soviet."

Joseph North speaks Friday, January 19, at 8 p.m., at Croton-on-Hudson—on the international situation.

Theodore Draper, recently returned from Europe, appears Saturday, January 20, at a dinner discussion at the New Hankow Restaurant, 132 West 34th St., N. Y. C., at 8 p.m., on the world situation. Sponsored by the Friends of NEW MASSES.

A. B. Magil visits the Flatbush Marxist Forum, Sunday, January 21, 1112 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y., at 8 p.m., for a talk on "The Preservation of Civil Liberties."

James Dugan speaks Sunday, January 21, at the Social Dance Group, Studio 7B, 66 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., at 8:30 p.m., on "Movies in Wartime." Auspices the IWO.

Theodore Draper goes to Philadelphia, Sunday, January 21, to speak at Town Hall, 15 North Broad St., at 8:15 p.m., on the world situation. Auspices the Philadelphia Workers School.

Joseph Starobin speaks Friday, January 26, at the Progessive Forum, 430 Sixth Ave., N. Y. C., at 8:15 p.m., in the second part of his discussion on "The War Against the Soviet."

The third anniversary of the embarkation of the first American medical unit to Spain will be marked by the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign with a dinner at the Roger Smith, 40 East 41st St., N. Y. C., at 7:30 p.m., January 24. Dr. Edward K. Barsky, director of international medical aid to Spain, the Hon. Dorothy Kenyon, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, and others will speak, paying special tribute to the late Dr. Norman Bethune, who served in Spain and lost his life as a medical volunteer in China. Tickets at $1 may be obtained from Campaign headquarters, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C., with proceeds assisting the drive to provide refugee ships for 150,000 Spanish loyalists in French concentration camps.

Readers of NM are invited to a meeting in defense of Sam Adams Darcy, Communist organizer in Philadelphia whose extradition to California on criminal syndicalism charges is being protested throughout Pennsylvania. Mr. Darcy is being defended by a committee of prominent Philadelphia citizens under the chairmanship of Josephine Truslow Adams. The meeting will take place this Sunday, January 21, at 4:30 p.m., at the Midtown Music Hall, 56th St. and 7th Ave., N. Y. C. Mr. Darcy will be present, accompanied by his attorney, Mr. Philip Dorfman.

The photograph of George Seldes in last week's issue was incorrectly credited to George A. Douglas, whose credit-line should have appeared under the picture of Jess Stacy on page 29. Mr. Seldes' photograph was by the Associated Press.

Who's Who

GEORGE SELDES, whom we introduced last week, is a prominent journalist and author; his books include *You Can't Print That, You Can't Do That, Lords of the Press,* and *The Catholic Crisis.* . . . Adam Lapin is the NM and *Daily Worker* Washington correspondent. . . . Mike Quin, who wrote the famous pamphlet, *The Yanks Are Not Coming,* is a columnist for the *People's World.* . . . John Cameron, a free lance writer, resides in Washington, D. C. . . . Shaemas O'Sheel is a well known literary critic. . . . Andy Razaf is one of Broadway's most popular lyricists.

Flashbacks

MEMO to those who are trying to get us into the war by saying we must be in on the peace: the vindictiveness of Versailles followed the announcement of President Wilson on Jan. 22, 1917, that "It must be a peace without victory." . . . Memo to those in control of the reactionary dictatorship of France: on Jan. 21, 1793, Louis XVI was executed by the revolutionary government set up by the French people. . . . Warning to the followers of a certain priest-in-politics: On Jan. 22, 1905, Father Gapon, a police agent, led thousands of workers in St. Petersburg into a trap. Five hundred were killed and three thousand wounded when troops fired on the throng which had come to the czar peacefully bearing ikons and asking for redress of grievances. . . . Lenin assumed a prominent place in revolutionary circles as a result of his speech against the Narodniks delivered on Jan. 21, 1894. . . . Jan. 21, 1924, just thirty years later, Lenin died.

William Blake

As a bank manager, stock syndicate director, and financial entrepreneur in several European countries in the fifteen-year post-war period, Mr. Blake has had a fortunate Pisgah of the capitalist system in the flesh. He was born in Missouri; perhaps that accounts for his ability to understand Ralph Bates. His latest volume, "An American Looks at Karl Marx," is an encyclopedic exposition of political economy rivaled in its virtuosity only by his own two best-selling novels, "The World Is Mine" and "The Painter and the Lady." At present, William Blake is enjoying comparative relaxation in the preparation of a Civil War novel. It should take the wind out of GWTW.

This Week

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXIV JANUARY 23, 1940 NUMBER 5

The Art of News Faking

George Seldes continues his professional exposure of the inventions of the commercial press. The admissions of Kallio, president of White Guard Finland. Destroying Helsinki in type.

THE three great lies of our generation are: the World War lie that we were fighting to make the world safe for democracy; the Spanish invasion lie, that it was a Christian Crusade; and the present international lie that the Soviet aviators on November 30 and the first days in December 1939 bombed civilians in Finland. The first two lies have already been exposed by history, but not before millions of men died. American entry into the World War, as the Nye-Vandenberg hearings proved beyond the doubt of anyone except the editorial writers of the New York *Times,* was brought about for financial reasons. The fascist rebellion in Spain was paid for by the landowners and other interested men and institutions. And there is every reason to believe that the campaign of lies against the USSR is part of the world's war preparations for an attack upon that country. That seems to be the only logical interpretation.

On December 2 President Roosevelt proclaimed his "moral embargo" against the Soviet Union, as the *Times* headlined it. His statement read: "The American government and the American people have for some time pursued a policy of wholeheartedly condemning the unprovoked bombing and machine-gunning of civilian populations from the air. . . . "

WHAT ABOUT SPAIN?

It is true that Roosevelt uttered similar words when Franco bombarded the civilians of Barcelona—28,000 casualties in the three-day raid—and eighteen months ago when the Japanese wantonly murdered the civilians of the Chinese temporary capital. But that was all. A few newspapers which were not intimidated by Catholic pressure in America denounced the bombings in Spain and praised the pope for asking Franco (the fascist murderer) to stop murdering. (Cardinal Hayes—*R.I.P.* — and Cardinal O'Connell said the bombings couldn't really have happened; Father Grimley joked about women always getting in the way of bombs and Father Joseph Thorning, SJ, wrote me that the days of the non-combatant were over and therefore apparently there was no reason for indignation.)

But once the President had spoken and a few editorials had been written, nothing was done about either the Spanish or the Chinese bombings. There was no wave of hysteria,

New York Post
7 SPORTS
COMPLETE FINANCIAL
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1939
THREE 3 CENTS
REDS BOMB HELSINKI HOSPITALS; INVADERS IN RETREAT IN ARCTIC
Reds Threaten to Raze Helsinki Unless City Yields
New York World-Telegram
WALL ST. PRICES
Real Estate, Page 27
PRICE THREE CENTS
NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1939.
RED FLIERS BLAST TRAINS, HOSPITAL
SOVIET FLIERS BOMB CIVILIANS IN WAVES
Destruction of Hospital Area and Attacks on Refugees Mark Stalin's Birthday
RUSSIANS RETREAT IN ARCTIC FROM FINNS, COLD AND SNOW; RAID HELSINKI HOSPITAL ZONE
Cities Bombed; Finns Repulse Army Attacks
'Celebrate' Stalin's Birthday by Halting Foe on Three Fronts
HELSINKI, Dec. 21.—Soviet

STALIN'S BIRTHDAY PRESENT. *The leading morning and afternoon papers of New York as well as most of the United States used Stalin's birthday as a jumping off place for their fake stories on Finnish hospital bombings. The day after, it appeared, nothing of the sort happened.*

no Hoover rushing to start a relief campaign, no thousand newspapers taking up collections, and moreover, no campaign of lies and distortion. In fact the few men of good will who did form committees to help the Spanish victims were generally denounced as radicals and still face attacks from the Dies committee.

When the Soviet press repeated the USSR's military orders to its airmen — "The Red Army is not fighting the Finnish people and is not fighting civilians. Not one bomb must be thrown at a human dwelling, not a single bomb on the population. Anyone violating this order will be severely punished" — the press laughed mockingly. The New York *World-Telegram* headline was:

REDS "TOO HUMANE" TO BOMB CIVILIANS

The quotation marks of course express the paper's own editorial irony. When Premier Molotov informed the American ambassador to Moscow that no such bombings had occurred, the New York *Times* reported the President's answer as "giving the lie" to Molotov—and in none too thinly veiled diplomatic language. The President was now applauded by most of his enemies. Not since the word had been passed around in Washington that the administration was going to let big business alone in 1940 had there been such a swing towards Mr. Roosevelt. Not only big business but the big Republicans were now on his side. A campaign to break off diplomatic relations with the USSR was suggested.

Did President Roosevelt know that the action he was taking was based entirely on falsehood? The reader must recall that the

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State Department had issued the report from Minister Arthur Schoenfeld on December 1 listing the raids as directed against military objectives. But coincident with the President's action one day later came a release from the State Department:

> Mr. Schoenfeld reported that forty-two persons were known to have been killed in Helsinki by the air raids of November 30. The casualties were fewer on December 1. . . . Mr. Schoenfeld personally witnessed indiscriminate bombing and casualties were seen by members of the legation. . . .

This is a very curious business. Although one may hesitate before accusing our State Department of lying, that very thing has been done before and most successfully. The State Department in 1927 issued to the Associated Press a tremendous lie. It was designed to help bring the United States into a war with Mexico and it too concerned the USSR—it charged that a plot was being hatched on Mexican soil by the Soviet against the United States, aimed at the Panama Canal. The United Press and International News Service at that time refused to publish the falsehood; in fact, they accused the State Department of lying and the affair caused a great scandal. Is the State Department up to the same kind of falsification again? The fact is that report No. 1 from Minister Schoenfeld said military objectives were bombed and report No. 2 spoke of "indiscriminate bombings," as if any person on the ground watching a raid could tell its objective.

NO RAID ON CIVILIANS

However, the fact remains: Minister Schoenfeld reports forty-two dead in the first day's bombings and "fewer" in the second. This means that under no circumstances could there have been a raid on civilians, since the Barcelona "experiment" showed the fascists that one raid so intended would result in thousands of casualties: 28,000 in thirteen raids in three days, to be exact.

It is to be noted that the two main news weeklies, *Time* and *Newsweek,* in their summaries written a day or two later mentioned only military objectives and no civilian attack. (*Time,* December 11, page 23; *Newsweek,* December 11, page 21.)

Nevertheless *Life* in its issue of December 25 carried the weekly military review by its military expert. This article began as follows:

> The Russian invasion of Finland began on Nov. 30 with an air attack on Helsinki that took hundreds of civilian lives. . . . At right are scenes . . . of this wanton attempt by the Reds to break the morale of Finland's capital in one terrible stroke. . . .

There follow numerous pictures with captions: No. 1, "Russian bombers . . . One dives to find objective"; No. 7, "Bomb takes a slice out of Polytechnic High School near Navy Yard"; No. 8, "A closeup of the scene at left. Russians missed nearby liner docks."

Now if in No. 1 the plane sought an objective it could not have been the civilian population, as that was everywhere and required no seeking.

Second, if the school was near the navy yard, and the navy yard was certainly a legitimate objective, then the bombing of the school was just a bad aim.

Third, if the bomb narrowly escaped the liner docks, a legitimate objective, whatever property and human damage it caused could not be laid to evil intentions.

In other words, the pictures belie the story.

When I came upon this discrepancy, I made some inquiries; it did not surprise me to find out that someone on *Life's* editorial staff did some faking. I can say positively that some editor whose name I do not know faked the story itself, thinking he was making it conform to the pictures and their captions. The object of this dirty work of course was to smear the Soviet Union and continue at the end of December the campaign which the daily press and the President began on the first of the month. I will now put it up to Mr. Luce: either you apologize for faking this story or you become an accomplice after the act. At any rate this is as foul a falsification as any in which Mr. Hearst has engaged in fifty years of corrupt journalism, and surely Mr. Luce does not want to join the Hearst school.

TRIPLE FAKE

The press next mentioned the Soviet aviators on December 19 when Webb Miller reported an air raid on Helsinki with the following casualties: "two crows dead and one wounded crow." But this light story was followed by the worst atrocity of all. Here are the headlines of three New York papers the night of December 21 and the following morning: *Post:* "REDS BOMB HELSINKI HOSPI-

24, 1939.

Soviet Threat to Destroy Helsinki During Holidays Dropped From Air

Leaflet Demands Backing for Kuusinen—Writer Tells of Seeing Russian Fliers Fire on Civilians Deliberately

By K. J. ESKELUND

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

HELSINKI, Finland, Dec. 23—"If Finland has not given up the fight by 1 P. M. today we will bomb Helsinki, destroying the city, Christ- their black helmets and gauntlets. One was so low that his machine swept the treetops. At least twenty times they dived, riddling the

DEADLINE PASSES WITHOUT ATTACK BY SOVIET FLIERS

"They Don't Dare—We Are Prepared," Finns Reply to Pamphlets

HELSINKI, Dec. 23 (AP).—Russians in pamphlets dropped by invading fliers today threaten

Helsinki Raid Casualties: 2 Crows Dead, 1 Wounded

By The United Press.

HELSINKI, Finland, Dec. 19—The police described the casualties of today's air raid on the environs of Helsinki as:

"Two crows dead and one wounded crow, which was taken to a first-aid station and revived."

TWO CROWS. *Those terrible Red bombers are no respecters of wild life. The New York "Times" solemnly reports two crows killed in an air raid. Four days later, the "Times" (top) and New York "Post" (below) announce and deny the total obliteration of Helsinki on the same day. This is known as split-second reporting, or as some newspapers phrase it: "Accuracy, accuracy, accuracy."*

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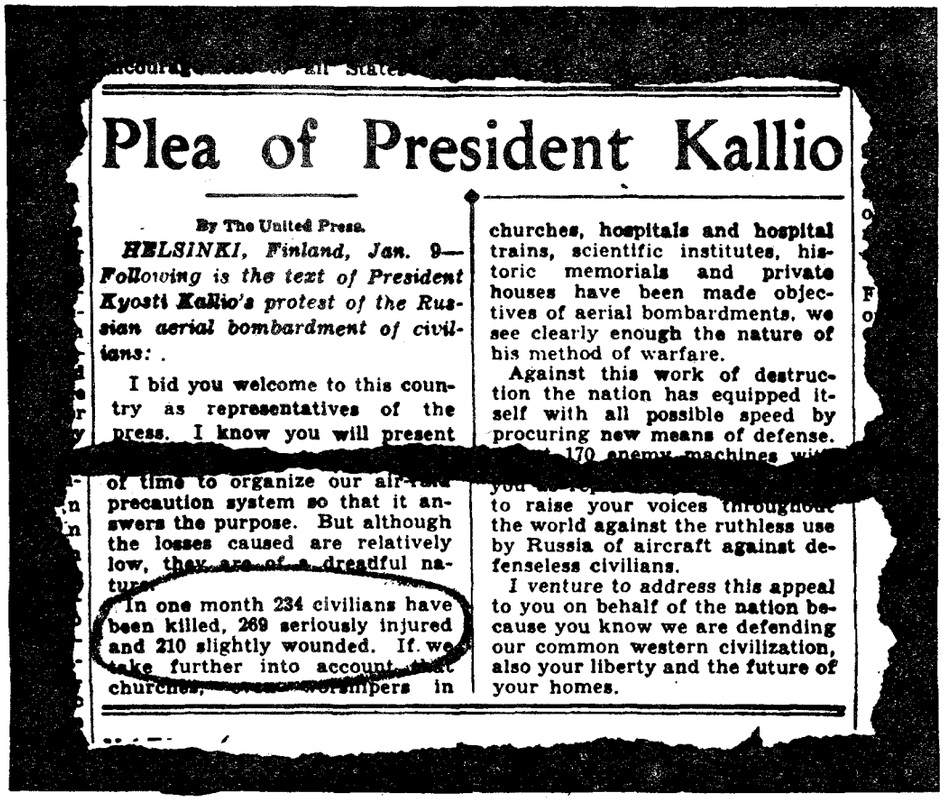


Plea of President Kallio

By The United Press.

HELSINKI, Finland, Jan. 9—Following is the text of President Kyosti Kallio's protest of the Russian aerial bombardment of civilians:

I bid you welcome to this country as representatives of the press. I know you will present

of time to organize our air-[illegible] precaution system so that it answers the purpose. But although the losses caused are relatively low, they are of a dreadful nature.

In one month 234 civilians have been killed, 269 seriously injured and 210 slightly wounded. If we take further into account that churches, [illegible] worshipers in churches, hospitals and hospital trains, scientific institutes, historic memorials and private houses have been made objectives of aerial bombardments, we see clearly enough the nature of his method of warfare.

Against this work of destruction the nation has equipped itself with all possible speed by procuring new means of defense. [illegible] 170 enemy machines wit[illegible] you [illegible] to raise your voices throughout the world against the ruthless use by Russia of aircraft against defenseless civilians.

I venture to address this appeal to you on behalf of the nation because you know we are defending our common western civilization, also your liberty and the future of your homes.

KALLIO VS. CALLIOPE. *The muse of heroic and eloquent poetry presiding over the American commercial newspapers took a toss when Kyosti Kallio announced that 234 persons were killed in air raids in Finland after a whole month's war. Last week New Masses showed the "Times" clipping of the official Finnish government report which gave eighty-five as the number killed during the first four days of fighting in December. The "World Almanac" reports that the average peacetime death rate of Finland is 128 people a day. Does this give you an idea?*

TALS." *World-Telegram:* "RED FLYERS BLAST TRAINS, HOSPITAL." *Times:* "RAID HELSINKI HOSPITAL ZONE."

The ultra-conservative *Times* joined its phony-liberal evening contemporaries with the completely phony story that the air raids on that day were a celebration of Stalin's birthday. I know that a good reporter with a sense of the news would be greatly tempted to combine a birthday with something, but I also know that no honest newspaper and no honest reporter would write or publish a story saying the air raids were part of the Stalin birthday celebration unless there was reliable evidence of it. In this case there was no evidence whatever. Therefore I accuse the *Times,* the *Post,* the *World-Telegram,* and the majority of the two thousand daily papers of the United States of publishing a fake.

There were air raids, it is true, but it was a double fake to headline them as directed against the hospitals of the capital. It was a third fake to say the raids were directed against civilians. The "officials . . . said only two persons were wounded in the capital," reported the United Press. But the worst fake of all was coupling the bombing with the birthday, and in this instance the *Times* was a worse offender than its colleagues. It not only published the falsehood but ran an editorial saying "350 Russian planes celebrated the great occasion by spreading death and terror among civilians." In its war summary of December 22 the word "celebrate" was in quotation marks but in its editorial of the 23rd it dropped even that cheap little hypocrisy.

THOSE MYSTERIOUS PAMPHLETS

And now for the final air falsehood. On December 23 the *World-Telegram* had "Reds reported demanding Helsinki give up today. Pamphlet said to give warning of severe raid," and the *Post* more sensationally, "Reds threaten to raze Helsinki unless city yields." The story is obviously a fake. It reports that Soviet planes dropped pamphlets threatening the destruction of the city. But who had seen the pamphlets, who had translated them? The correspondents did not know. They just took "a Finnish spokesman" at his word. Well, I can remember as far back as 1937 when William P. Carney and Herbert Matthews of the *Times* were reporting the war in Spain—Carney faked the story of the capture of Teruel while Matthews and Hemingway and others risked their lives not once but almost daily, crossing the Arganda Bridge, getting into the thick of the Ebro fight or University City or Guadalajara to see with their own eyes and report the truth. What has happened to our war correspondents in 1939? Have they all turned into Carneys?

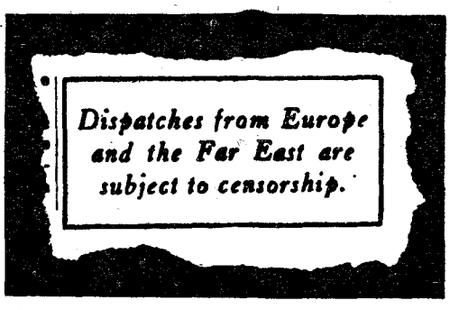
Eighteen thousand members of the American Newspaper Guild will agree with me, I am sure, that any newspaper can maintain the appearance of being honest, fair, and decent while actually being dishonest, unfair, and indecent. It is not even necessary to fake the news and indulge in all the other trickery of journalism well known within the profession. In the case of Soviet-Finnish relations, for example, a newspaper can pretend it is honest and neutral and at the same time publish strictly honest and factual material, each item above suspicion and yet all of them calculated to stir up hate, hysteria, prejudice.

Every journalist knows that a story about a child or a dog, and better still, a child and a dog, or a child and a broken doll, or mothers carrying infants, always stirs the emotions. If in addition to all this something ironic, like misery at Christmas time—the New York *Times* is the greatest capitalizer of this theme—can be used, the story becomes what is termed a "natural." This was the case with the "Christmas Day bombing of Helsinki."

MR. ESKELUND

Actually the first (fake) reports said that the Soviet had threatened to destroy the capital within twenty-four hours; as the (unseen) leaflets were alleged to have been dropped on December 22, it was hardly a Christmas atrocity story. But it was easily made into one. The worst offender here was the self-called honest and liberal New York *Times.* In its issue of the 24th it carried a story from K. J. Eskelund dated Helsinki, December 23, quoting the mysterious leaflets: "If Finland has not given up the fight by 1 p.m. today we will bomb Helsinki, destroying the city, Christmas morning. The town will be leveled to the ground."

One might stop here and ask who Mr.



IT WASN'T TRUE OF THE USSR. *For months the New York "Times" has absolved itself from blame for printing fake news from abroad by running the box shown above. It had not the courage to mention that no censorship existed on news coming out of the Soviet Union. Three weeks ago Mr. Gedye of the "Times" complained that he had no censor in Moscow to guide him through rumor. On December 30 the "Times" itself announced the reimposition of censorship after many months of complete non-supervision of news out of Moscow.*

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Eskelund is. Is he an American? Is he one of the overwhelming Britons on the *Times* staff? Is he a Scandinavian? Is he a democrat or a fascist? Or is he of that company of Jules Sauerwein (M. Sorvan), Augur (the White Russian Poliakov), Pertinax (one of the most reactionary journalists in France), and Arnaldo Cortesi of Rome, who would not have been allowed by Mussolini to work for the *Times* unless he was as good a fascist as the members of the fascist journalist syndicate, and who now sends anti-liberal government news out of Mexico? Ninety or more percent of the *Times* foreign correspondents are reactionaries, and some are fascists, and the *Times* has the effrontery to call itself a liberal newspaper.

The *Times* used the headline:

SOVIET THREAT TO DESTROY HELSINKI DURING HOLIDAYS DROPPED FROM AIR

Other newspapers capitalized on the Christmas spirit. The crooked cartoonists drew crooked cartoons, always showing the USSR as a bear dripping blood, or a cruel giant. But something must have been terribly wrong with this tear-jerking Christmas story — so wrong that even its being a pro-Finnish fake, and a good one from that point of view, made it suspect.

We now learn from the *Nation* that the Associated Press, which also sent the story out, followed up the cable with this note to editors:

The Finnish censor has requested that the material in the second lead Finnish about the dropping of pamphlets threatening destruction in Finland if Finland does not surrender, be eliminated. We suggest that you eliminate this in order that the work of the Associated Press correspondents in Finland not be handicapped.—The AP.

The *Nation* states that most newspapers ignored the request from the Associated Press. AP, UP, and papers having their own correspondents, such as the New York *Sun, Post, Herald Tribune,* and *Times,* continued to publish the story, and offered no explanation or apology. There was no raid. The Soviet government denied it had made the threats. But the free press had put over a big human-interest Christmas story, and it had had its effect, despite the fact it was another fraud.

THE RADIO FAKERS

When the German, French, and British war began in September the radio broadcasters issued a statement of neutrality, impartiality, and objectivity.

So strictly was this ruling enforced that on the 19th of that month when I was in Chicago doing a broadcast on propaganda, National Broadcasting Co. officials suggested that in speaking of the German soldiers who came over to the American army to surrender in 1918, I omit their nationality. I had described our propaganda in no-man's land, our cards offering the Germans white bread, cigarettes, meat, and the effect it had on the hungry enemy. As I later read the script, it was

Journalistic Primer

What are little editorials made of?
Malice and spite,
Everything trite——
That's what little editorials are made of.

What are little news stories made of?
A typewriter and gin
And a job to use them in——
That's what little news stories are made of.

What are little headlines made of?
Imagination and ink
And a cynical wink——
That's what little headlines are made of.

W. B. CAHN.

"soldiers of the Blank army" who surrendered.

But all that is changed now.

On November 30 over WABC, for Amoco Gasoline, Edwin C. Hill made a blood-and-tears plea for the world to take Finland's side against the Soviet Union. The plea would have sounded better if the same radio commentator had spoken with a little of the same feeling, or with any feeling whatever, or if he had spoken at all, about the Barcelona bombings when 28,000 civilians were killed and wounded by Franco and his fascist aviators. But Mr. Hill at that time had been neutral—with Franco leanings—while now he went emotionally berserk. The reason is obvious: Franco is a Catholic reactionary and Hill has spoken more Catholic propaganda over the radio than anyone not an overt Catholic propagandist. It is true that the 28,000 dead and wounded in Barcelona were also Catholics, but they had been labeled "Reds" by the reactionary wing of Catholicism, and therefore there was no emotion on Mr. Hill's part and no pressure from Amoco Gasoline either to favor or attack.

VIOLATION OF ETHICS

On December 21 Mr. Hill nonchalantly accused Stalin of causing ten million deaths. He also repeated the newspaper lie that "Russian airmen celebrated Stalin's birthday by raiding Helsinki and bombing four hospitals." In between these two days and following the 21st, Mr. Hill has without exception included propaganda against Soviet Russia in his nightly talks. In other words, he has violated the code of ethics of the broadcasting fraternity. He has also violated human ethics, but that is another matter.

On December 21 WJZ's 4:55 p.m. broadcast over the NBC network had "Russian air raid on Helsinki seemed to be aimed at hospitals, institutions for the blind, and fleeing refugees." At 6:15 the same words were repeated over WEAF and credited to the Associated Press.

On the night of December 4 over WABC Elmer Davis grew ironical over the Soviet report that no civilians had been bombed. "So the eighty dead in Helsinki committed suicide with the air bombs they found," he said. Lowell Thomas joined in the sneering. He referred to "the Russian *humanitarian* aviators" killing a hundred persons in Helsinki. On December 29 Thomas said, "The news from Finland continues optimistic. Every day more hundreds of Russians are being killed." (I report by ear but, I believe, correctly.)

Of the scores of news commentators who fill the air from morning to night on the big networks and the smaller stations, only two or three have remained within the ethics of the broadcasters' code. The newsmen are not supposed to speak anything but straight news, but this is now impossible because the Associated Press and others pervert the news at its sources. The commentators are permitted to comment, but comment does not mean propaganda or falsehood, and it is certainly propaganda and falsehood that one gets every day and night on most of the stations.

"THE LID IS OFF"

I mentioned this situation to one of the best known commentators in New York City the other day. He replied: "The rules are off as regards Russia. We can go as far as we like. There is no limit. Say anything you like. Lie if you wish, no one will stop you. It is true that there is still some attempt at neutrality in the war between Germany and France and Britain; no one can go violently against one side or the other; but that does not apply to Russia. There has been no written or even oral instruction but we have simply discovered that the lid is off and it is the popular thing to do, and we can go haywire about Russia without anyone checking us."

This is a serious situation. The broadcasting companies were frightened out of their wits in September 1939; they agreed that a neutrality a thousand times stricter than any exercised in our so-called ethical press should be maintained, and it was maintained for three months. If it is true that no attempt at honest news and comment is now being made it is high time the Federal Communications Commission took notice of the situation.

GEORGE SELDES.

This is the second of three articles by Mr. Seldes. The third will appear next week.

Christmas Present

MANY people in England used the following printed Christmas card:

I am sending you this card with best wishes for Christmas. I know you will understand when I tell you that, instead of giving Christmas presents this year, I am sending a donation to the "Forgotten Women Appeal" of the Women's Committee for Peace and Democracy. This appeal is to assist women of all nationalities, the majority of them political refugees and persecuted in their own countries for their anti-fascist opinions, who are now in prisons and internment camps in France.

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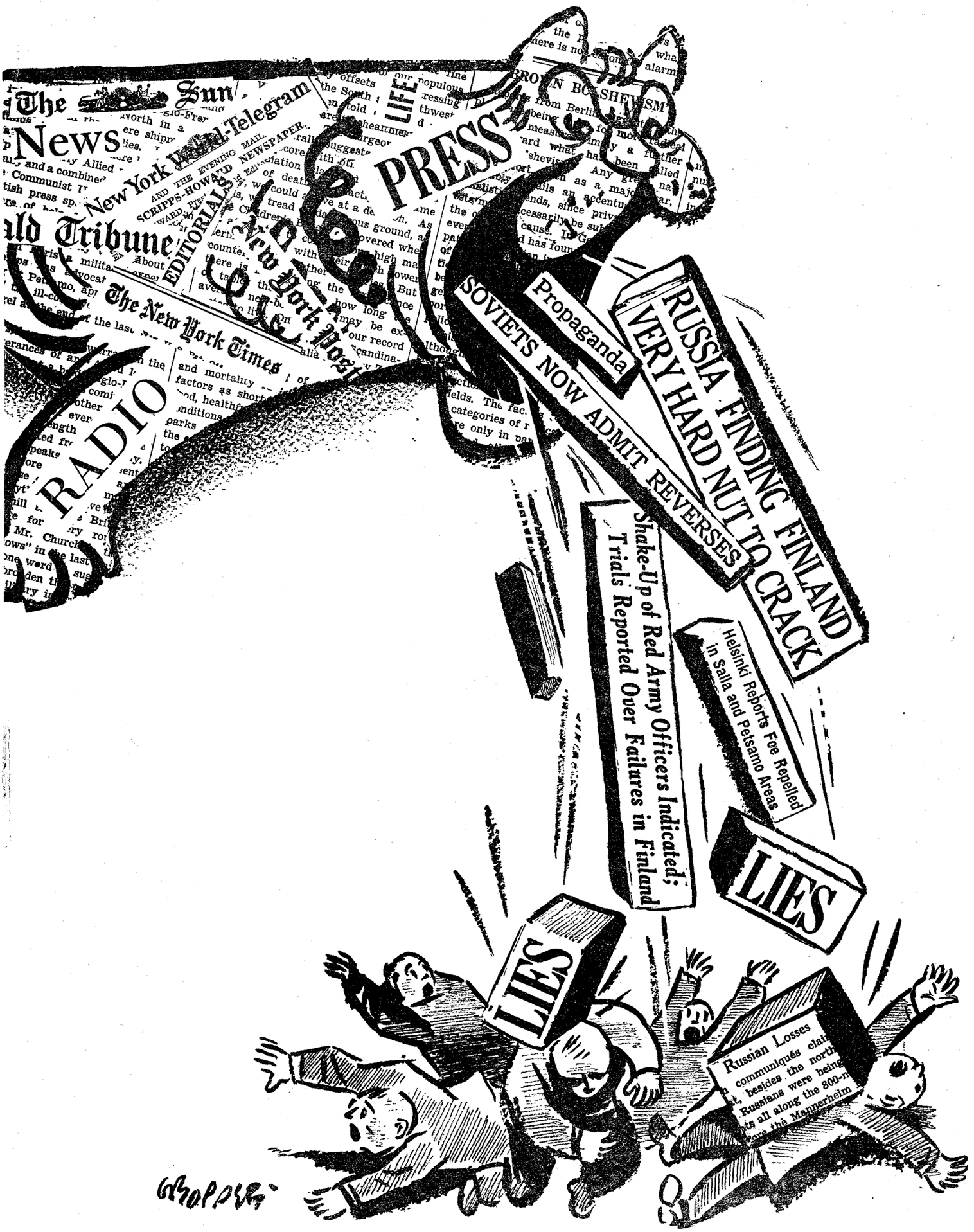

William Gropper

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The State of the Union

THIS DEPARTMENT, which NEW MASSES will present weekly, is the joint work of a group of correspondents who send us a letter each week telling about the state of their part of the nation. As more correspondents write in, our coverage will increase. We invite our readers to send their contributions of significant happenings, anecdotes, etc., to "The State of the Union," NEW MASSES, New York City.

Rumors of War

San Francisco movie audiences have changed since war was declared. Once great hissers and clappers, they now sit on their hands when Hitler, Chamberlain, Daladier, or Finnish footage flashes by. They figure a hiss for Hitler will be taken as a cheer for Neville and Edouard and vice versa. Grimly apprehensive about war, at any mention of America's staying out they almost pull the chandeliers down with enthusiasm.

"President Roosevelt's pro-English sympathies are regrettable. . . . I don't believe that President Roosevelt or anyone else will be able to sell the American people another war," said the Rev. Walter E. Cole at Toledo's Layman's League meeting on January 5.

One day after the Connecticut papers announced that the Bridgeport Brass Co. got an order for $716,000 worth of projectile cases, George C. Waldo, editor-in-chief of the Bridgeport *Post, Telegram,* and *Sunday Post,* was decorated with the gold medal of Cavaliere Officiale of the Order of the Crown of Italy in recognition of his "very fair and just attitude in editorial comment on Italy's part in the international situation." No connection, but they show reaction at work in New England. Munitions plants in New Haven, Hartford, Waterbury are busy, but speedup has kept the unemployed workers idle.

Newark churches, previously unconcerned, now are inviting American League for Peace and Democracy speakers to their socials. Three unpopular local bankers head the Finnish Relief gag—no contributions announced after a month.

Minnesota Finns, many of whom came to the United States after Mannerheim crushed their independent government twenty years ago, remember the hunger that made them emigrate, recall Hoover's treatment of the Bonus Marchers, and know the attitude of the Steel Barons on the Mesabe Range towards workers. Herbie's recent visit didn't change their minds.

Drive Against the Foreign Born

San Francisco was a bad place to bring up the alien agitator issue, as in the Bridges case. One-third of the population is foreign born, two thirds of foreign born parentage.

New Jersey's anti-alien bill, which has passed the state Senate, would permit the police to throw into jail without warrant any person not having on his person a proposed "Identification Card" or a copy of his birth certificate or naturalization papers. Every non-citizen who has entered the country since 1908 will have to register at $1 a head. Pennsylvania's similar law was turned down as unconstitutional by U. S. District Court recently, but the Jerseyites have fixed up the legally objectionable parts of their Foran Alien Registration Bill.

The State of the Unions

General Electric's Bridgeport, Conn., plant hiring 6,600 workers is nearing an all-time high in union members. Brass workers are organizing and the CIO is growing vigorously in Waterbury, Bridgeport, Ansonia, and Derby. Hartford electrical workers are joining, too. A phenomenal growth of Labor's Non-Partisan League has been registered throughout Connecticut. AFL unions are profiting by a building trades spurt on slum clearance and low-cost housing projects in New Haven, Hartford, and Bridgeport.

Bad housing in Minneapolis, resulting in a slum fire in which twenty people were burned (many of them trade unionists), has brought a protest from the CIO and AFL unions jointly.

The new year started with three big San Francisco strike settlements: the Western Union, the San Francisco Ship Clerks, and the Pescadero Brussels Sprouts Pickers. A well planned, giant open-shop drive collapsed with the vindication of Harry Bridges on a "red" charge.

Questions of Taste

In the ritzy Toledo Women's Club a group of tony dames agreed to cancel their subscriptions to *Life* magazine. They suspect that it has become a radical weekly since it printed photos showing how the reliefers are living.

In Hollywood, twenty-seven-year-old Patricia Winfrey heaved a brick through a plate glass window in the O. Henry manner. She was hungry and broke, her landlady having seized her clothes for rent. Only job she could find was strip-teasing in a cafe. "I won't do a strip tease dance," she said. "I thought I'd rather starve, but that was too hard. So I decided to go to jail."

The Toledo *Blade* published an appeal by several Swanton, O., gentry in behalf of a family in urgent need of clothing. "Persons wishing to aid with clothing," it read, "can contact Mrs. George Bower, Eber Road, Swanton, by calling 63 through the Holland exchange. The father, an automobile mechanic, is willing to work for clothing." Have your valves ground and carbon removed for a pair of old socks and that muffler Aunt Minnie gave you for Xmas.

The Minneapolis Community Art Center opened with lumber tycoon Walker Gallery collection of jade and art, staffed by WPA, organized by the Minnesota Arts Council. Four thousand people attended the opening, one thousand enrolled in free arts and crafts classes. The people were the patrons of art!

Interesting angle given by a prosperous German who was formerly a consul here for the German Republic and Hitler, but was ousted by the latter: "Germany is fighting to keep from being a vassal of England. If the war goes on for two years it will mean exhaustion. Yes, maybe we will have Communism in Germany. But Communism does not make vassals of people. We shall be Germans, anyway, and rule ourselves and have our Fatherland. We will die rather than be like India or Ireland."

New Dealing from the Bottom

Minneapolis WPA workers protested layoffs. They were charged with "conspiracy" (sounds familiar?) against the United States government under Section 28 of the Woodrum act and Section 88 of the U. S. Statutes. One mass trial of twenty workers has just been concluded with the conviction of all of them. As WPA is cut more, and war is prepared, trade unions attacked, civil liberties curtailed, these Minneapolis trials assume national importance, foreshadowing what is threatened all over the country.

Michigan's Governor Dickinson heard "economy" shouted down his "pipeline from heaven" and cut pensions for mothers with crippled and dependent children almost in half. Mother and child used to get $42 a month, now get $24 to pay for rent, heat, light, cooking fuel, clothes, transportation, laundry and, oh yes, food. Food allowance is below $2 a week, far below fare of Michigan's jails or starvation diet fed Armenian children by the Near East Relief programs of twelve years ago. "The question," Dickinson remarked in a moment of divine illumination, "is how far the people will go with us. We can't go so far in matters of this kind as to make them repulsive."

Toledo merchants brought a "friendly suit" against City of Toledo on Dec. 4, 1939, to collect $560,000 due them for 1939 supplies to the city relief administration. Shopkeepers' attorney Harold Fraser said last week: "Employees of the relief administration are falling over one another. They are wasting thousands of dollars." When the relief situation became acute last fall, one official said to the merchants, "You can go to Hell!" Fraser charged: "When an emergency existed, the merchants of Toledo furnished credit to prevent bloodshed, riot, and starvation. Now failure to pay the merchants their $560,000 means their bankruptcy."

Westchester County, N. Y. (richest per capita county in United States with highest suicide rate in United States during depression years) is using a former Wooster, O., family in a test case to establish the legal right to remove to their old homes relief recipients who came here within the last year from other states.

Honolulu, T.H., has 5,200 relief cases, 31,000 individuals including Hawaiians, native and American, Koreans, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Russians, Portuguese, Spanish, Samoans, Negroes, French, Germans, British, Italians, and even New Yorkers. Fourteen case workers are being fired to keep within the budget, leaving eighteen case workers to "take care of the relief situation."

J. S.

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Lenin on War Aims

Here is a hitherto untranslated speech made by Lenin in 1916 at Berne, Switzerland. Homage to Eugene V. Debs. The precursor of revolution.

This article by V. I. Lenin is a speech delivered at a meeting in Berne, Switzerland, on Feb. 8, 1916, which was attended by militant socialists from various countries. It is included in the forthcoming Volume 19 of his collected works to be issued by International Publishers under the title *War and Revolution.* The volume has been translated by the late Moissaye J. Olgin and edited by Alexander Trachtenberg. This article has never before appeared in English translation.—THE EDITORS.

COMRADES! The European war has been raging for more than eighteen months. And as each month, as each day of the war goes by, it becomes clearer and clearer to the masses of the workers that the Zimmerwald Manifesto[1] expressed the truth when it declared that phrases about "defense of the fatherland" and the like are nothing but capitalist deception. It is becoming more evident every day that this is a war *between capitalists, between big robbers,* who are quarreling over the loot, each striving to obtain the largest share, the largest number of countries to plunder, and the largest number of nations to suppress and enslave.

It may sound incredible, especially to Swiss comrades, but it is nevertheless true that *in Russia,* also, not only bloody czarism, not only the capitalists, but also a section of the so-called or ex-Socialists say that Russia is fighting a "war of defense," that Russia is only fighting against German invasion. The whole world knows, however, that for decades czarism has been oppressing more than a hundred million people belonging to other nationalities in Russia; that for decades Russia has been pursuing a predatory policy towards China, Persia, Armenia, and Galicia. *Neither Russia, nor Germany, nor any other great power has the right to claim that it is waging a "war of defense";* all the great powers are waging an imperialist, capitalist war, a predatory war, a war for the oppression of small and foreign nations, a war for the sake of the profits of the capitalists, who are coining golden profits amounting to billions out of the appalling sufferings of the masses, out of the blood of the proletariat.

THE BASLE CONGRESS

Four years ago, in November 1912, when it had become clear that war was approaching, the representatives of the Socialist Parties of the whole world gathered at the International Socialist Congress in Basle. Even at that time there was no room for doubt that the impending war would be a war between the great powers, between the great beasts of prey; that responsibility for the war would rest upon the governments and the capitalist classes of *all* the great powers. The Basle Manifesto, which was adopted *unanimously* by the Socialist Parties of the whole world, openly stated this truth.[2] *The Basle Manifesto does not say a word about a "war of defense," or "defense of the fatherland."* It castigates the governments and the bourgeoisie of *all* the great powers without exception. It said openly that war would be the greatest of crimes, that the workers would consider it a crime to shoot at each other, that the horrors of war and the indignation these would rouse among the workers would inevitably lead to a *proletarian revolution.*

When the war actually broke out it was realized that its character had been correctly defined at Basle. But the Socialist and labor organizations were not unanimous in carrying out the Basle decisions; they split. We see now that in all countries of the world the Socialist and labor organizations are split into two big camps. The smaller section, the leaders, functionaries, and officials, have betrayed Socialism and have deserted to the side of the governments. Another section, to which the mass of class-conscious workers belong, continues to gather its forces, to fight against the war and for the proletarian revolution.

The views of this latter section also found expression in the Zimmerwald Manifesto.

In Russia, from the very beginning of the war, the *workers' deputies* in the Duma waged a determined revolutionary struggle against the war and the czarist monarchy. Five workers' deputies—Petrovsky, Badayev, Muranov, Shagov, and Samoilov—distributed revolutionary manifestos against the war and ener-

Sovfoto

LENIN IN ACTION. *A characteristic candid camera shot of V. I. Lenin taken in 1920 as he addressed Red Army troops before their departure for the Polish front.*

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getically carried on revolutionary agitation. Czarism ordered the arrest of those five deputies, put them on trial, and sentenced them to lifelong exile in Siberia.[3] For months the leaders of the working class of Russia have been pining in Siberia; but their cause has not gone under; their work is being continued by the class-conscious workers all over Russia.

Comrades! You have heard the speeches of representatives of various countries, who have told you about the workers' revolutionary struggle against the war. I merely want to quote one other example from that great and rich country, the United States of America. The capitalists of that country are now making enormous profits out of the European war. And they, too, are agitating for war. They say that America must also prepare to take part in the war, hundreds of millions of dollars must be squeezed out of the people for new armaments, for armaments without end. And in America, too, a section of the Socialists echoes this false, criminal appeal. But I will read to you what Comrade Eugene Debs, the most popular leader of the American Socialists, the presidential candidate of the American Socialist Party, writes. In the American paper, the *Appeal to Reason*, Sept 12, 1915, he says:

> I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people. I refuse to obey any command to fight for the ruling class. . . . I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul; and that is the worldwide war of the social revolution. In that war I am prepared to fight in any way the ruling class may make it necessary.

This is what Eugene Debs, the American Bebel, the beloved leader of the American workers, writes to them.

This again shows you, comrades, that *in all countries of the world real preparations are being made to rally the forces of the working class*. The horrors of war and the sufferings of the people are incredible. But we must not, and we have no reason whatever, to view the future with despair.

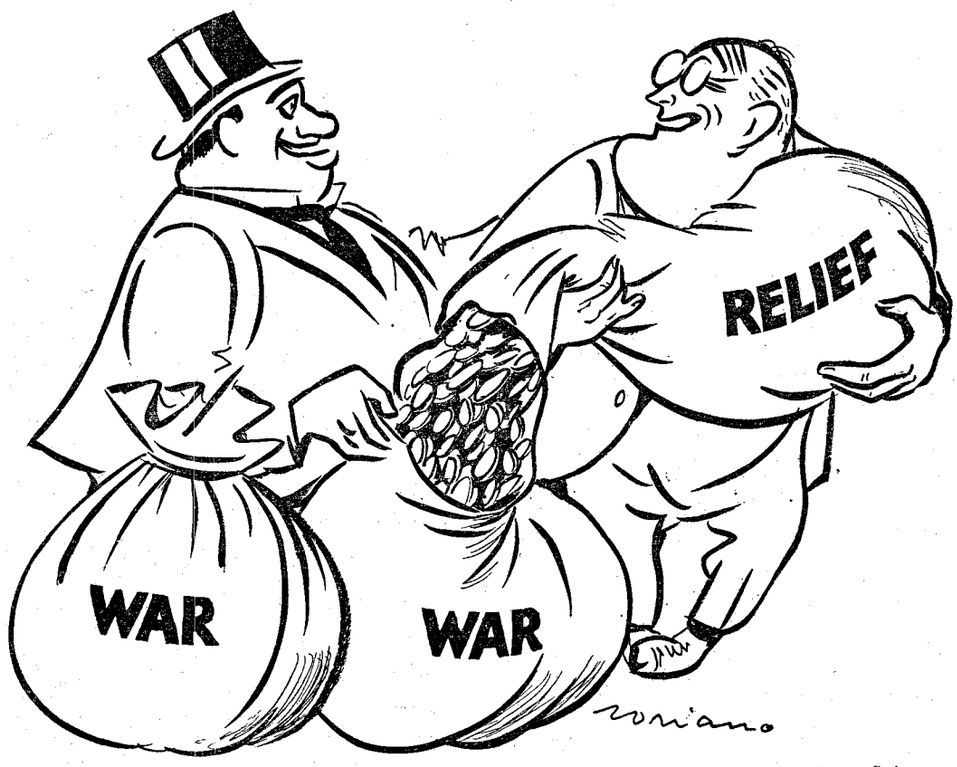
The millions of victims who will fall in the war, and as a consequence of the war, will not fall in vain. The millions who are starving, the millions who are sacrificing their lives in the trenches, are not only suffering, they are also gathering strength, are pondering over the real cause of the war, are becoming more determined, and are acquiring a clearer revolutionary understanding. Rising discontent of the masses, growing ferment, strikes, demonstrations, protests against the war—all this is taking place in all countries of the world. *And this is the guarantee that the European war will be followed by the proletarian revolution against capitalism.*

V. I. LENIN.

1. The Zimmerwald Manifesto was adopted at an international Socialist conference held at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, Sept. 5-8, 1915. The conference was attended by leading Socialists opposed to the war, from Russia, Germany, France, Sweden, Norway, the Balkans, Holland, Poland, Switzerland, and Italy. The majority of the delegates, however, were by no means revolutionary internationalists. They rejected the resolution and the manifesto proposed by Lenin and the minority which subsequently became known as the Zimmerwald Left. Nevertheless, the minority also signed the majority manifesto, regarding it, despite serious shortcomings, as "a step toward an ideological and practical break with opportunism and social chauvinism" (Lenin).

2. The Extraordinary Basle Congress of the Socialist (Second) International was held on Nov. 24-25, 1912, to protest against the Balkan War and organize the forces of the international working class to combat the menace of a general European war. The congress' manifesto exposed the war machinations of all the imperialist powers and reaffirmed the guiding principles adopted at the Stuttgart and Copenhagen congresses. These declared that if war should break out, it would be the duty of the working classes and their parliamentary representatives in all countries to "intervene in favor of its speedy termination and with all their powers to utilize the economic and political crisis created by the war to arouse the people and thereby to hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule." When the war actually broke out, the majority of the Socialist leaders in the belligerent countries betrayed these principles and supported their imperialist governments.

3. The trial of five Bolshevik members of the Duma and six other leading Bolsheviks was held on Feb. 23, 1915. The Bolshevik deputies were the only members of the Duma who carried on a struggle against the war in the spirit of Socialist internationalism. All five and one of the other group, L. B. Kamenev, were sentenced to lifelong exile in Siberia. In an article, "What Has the Trial of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Fraction Proven?" Lenin criticized Kamenev's conduct at the trial. In later years Kamenev became one of the secret Trotskyist conspirators who worked for the overthrow of the Soviet regime.



"Say 'when.'"

Back in 1791

THE following note on the warmonger tactic is taken from an old, faded volume entitled *A Chronology of Public Events and Remarkable Occurrences Within the last Fifty Years; or, From 1771 to 1821* published by Sir Richard Phillips & Co., London, 1822. It records what happens during every capitalist pre-war period to civil liberty and the freemen who defend it. (N.B. The Dr. Priestley referred to is, of course, the great physicist and discoverer of oxygen.)

July 14, 1791. This second anniversary of the French Revolution was celebrated by the friends of civil liberty in various parts of the United Kingdom by public dinners and other rejoicings; not, however, without much opposition from the adherents of ministers, who spread sinister reports and excited unfounded alarms.

At Birmingham these reports had the effect of drawing together a misguided mob, who assailed the hotel where the friends of liberty were at dinner, and proceeded afterwards to destroy the houses and property of every liberal man in the town and neighborhood; few or none of whom were at the festival. Among them, the celebrated Dr. Priestley's house, library, and philosophical apparatus were destroyed; the houses of Messrs. Ryland, Russel, Hutton, and others, together with several chapels of the dissenters. By apparent connivance these disgraceful riots were prolonged for some days, and they unhappily gave a tone to the public feeling which encouraged ministers to engage in the subsequent war against France.

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Gutting the Labor Board

Adam Lapin reveals the Washington lowdown on how the NLRB is to be made safe for the National Manufacturers Association. The betrayal of every American working man and woman.

Washington.

ON AUGUST 27 the five year term of Chairman J. Warren Madden of the National Labor Relations Board expires. Unfortunately for the masterminds who are working out administration strategy on the Wagner act, this will come about two months after Congress adjourns. So Madden must be disposed of earlier—within the next few weeks. Board member Edwin Smith presents the administration with an even more difficult problem. His term does not expire until Aug. 27, 1941.

New Dealers will patiently explain that the President and his advisers are trying to save the Wagner act from destruction at the hands of its worst enemies. This gallant attempt will involve two steps: First, Smith, Madden, and various members of the board staff are to be forced out in one way or another. Second, a series of compromise amendments will be offered by administration leaders in Congress ostensibly to head off more sweeping amendments.

Reorganization of the board represents as serious a danger to labor at this stage of the game as outright amendments. Appointment of William M. Leiserson with a general mandate from the President to "clean up" the board has already caused considerable damage. Leiserson's policy on the whole has been one of partisanship toward the AFL hierarchy's demand for small craft units in collective bargaining. Largely as a result of his activity, CIO confidence in the board has been so shaken that it has advised its affiliates to use the board's services only when absolutely necessary.

PURGE SCHEME

The general scheme of reorganization is to get rid of several key men: Madden, Smith, Charles H. Fahy, the board's counsel, and Nathan Witt, its secretary. Against these men there are no specific charges that amount to anything. Of course they have been accused of CIO partisanship, but the record indicates that the AFL has received an even break in the board's decisions. In its most recent report covering the fiscal year 1939, the board states that the CIO was upheld nineteen times in disputes with the AFL, and that the AFL was upheld sixteen times. Equally significant is the fact that both the CIO and the AFL agreed on the appropriate bargaining unit in forty-nine cases, almost as many as those on which they disagreed. The board's record before the Supreme Court has been remarkably good. It was overruled only twice on the twenty-three occasions on which it appeared before the court. The Smith committee snoopers, who are now investigating the board, have been unable to make a single charge stick against their chief targets.

What those who are slated for purging have really been guilty of is an honest and conscientious effort to protect the rights of collective bargaining guaranteed in the Wagner act. They have not always been consistent. Madden, for example, has vacillated between the craft position of Leiserson and the policies of Edwin Smith who on the whole favors a broad industrial bargaining unit. Smith's approach doesn't make him a narrow CIO partisan; the board report for 1939 states that AFL unions have asked for industrial units in 113 cases and for craft units in sixty-eight cases. In other words, most AFL unions incline to Smith's point of view.

No matter what their shortcomings, these men have come to represent the faithful old guard. They have fought for the Wagner act. They have resisted attempts to amend it. They stand for the Labor Board at its best—for the ante bellum New Deal. They are not likely to be stampeded now into lining up behind amendments to emasculate the act.

FEDERAL JUDGESHIPS

Madden is to be enticed off the board with a federal judgeship. Originally he was to be given a rather juicy plum, an assignment to the place on the Third Circuit Court vacated by Francis Biddle when he was made solicitor general. The President subsequently changed his mind, and Dean Herbert Goodrich is to fill Biddle's job. It is understood that Madden will be offered one of the two positions open on the Federal District Court in Washington. This is a come down from the Philadelphia judgeship, but Madden's term will expire soon anyway, and he may feel that he has no alternative.

Fahy is being considered for a nice job in some federal agency which will involve more prestige and less headaches. Smith and Witt have had concentrated on them most of the fire from the Smith committee as well as from Leiserson and various White House advisers. It isn't likely that any inviting offers will be made to them. It is problematical in any event whether Smith could be lured off the board before his term expires. The technique to be used against Smith and Witt is to harass them until they feel that they might as well resign and get it over with.

Leiserson is being seriously thought of as board chairman to replace Madden, while Mrs. Elinore Herrick is prominently mentioned as the person to fill the vacancy on the board. Mrs. Herrick cooperated with the anti-Communist, pro-Chamberlain clique in the American Labor Party; it is considered likely that her general policies on the board would click with Leiserson's. With a few key men pushed out and Leiserson in charge, the Labor Board could be brought into line with the general administration swing to the right.

Naturally, the Smith committee and other congressional spokesmen for big business won't be satisfied with the sacrificial offering of a few individuals. The committee will keep on making startling disclosures such as the fact that the board had twelve women attorneys on its review staff; Representative Smith apparently adheres to the adage that a woman's place is in the home. When these sensations have been compiled, the committee will make alleged deductions from its researches which will bear a close resemblance to the policies advocated for many years by the Virginia statesman and banker who is its chairman. Representative Murdock of Utah has done some creditable work in exposing the propaganda job of Committee Counsel Edmund Toland, who's been an anti-labor lawyer from way back, and of the other tory members of the committee. Representative Healey of Massachusetts has on the whole sided with Murdock. But the two congressmen represent a minority, and will not be able to exert any substantial influence on the committee's final report.

After the Smith committee files its report, probably some time in April, administration leaders will stage the second step in their daredevil rescue of the Wagner act. The general idea will be to offer a compromise which will preserve the newfound unity of the Democratic Party by making substantial revisions in the Wagner act while putting up a brave show of rejecting some of the extremist Chamber of Commerce proposals.

By far the most dangerous amendment receiving serious consideration in administration circles is the mediation setup. Leiserson, who made his reputation largely by administering the Railway Mediation Act, leans very much toward turning the Labor Board into a mediation agency. Representative Smith has publicly expressed approval of this kind of proposal. By restricting the right of labor to strike, this amendment would give business and the government a powerful club over the head of trade unions during a war situation.

The administration strategy of saving the Wagner act by joining up in effect with its most virulent anti-labor enemies will of course make the job of resisting amendments at this session difficult—but by no means impossible. By urging amendments of its own to put teeth in the act and protect industrial bargaining units, the CIO has offered an effective counterweight to the various reactionary proposals. If enough AFL unions continue to stick with the CIO in opposing all efforts to emasculate the Wagner act, Congress may think twice before defying organized labor in an election year.

ADAM LAPIN.

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Guinea Pig Conservation

The advertisers defend their prosperous dupe preserve. Why "the only good consumer is a dead consumer."

The word cooperative is alluring. Because it sounds so good it may temporarily sell itself to the public. . . . But Webster adds another definition, in all of its sinister meaning to a free people: A business enterprise or society whose object is to enable its participants or members to buy or sell to better advantage by eliminating middlemen's profits . . .

THE above quotation (from a pamphlet appropriately entitled *The Road to Ruin*) came as the opening cry raised in the wilderness against consumer organizations. In its wording and its peculiar type of logic it is typical of all the cries that have since been raised in a frantic effort to drag a whole school of red herrings across the trail which is leading the American people to the brink of illuminating discoveries about their present economic difficulties; the same trail which is leading the American housewife to the subversive conclusion that all that glitters in the advertisements is not worth her gold; the trail which, as this is written, has led Federal Trade Commission investigators dangerously close to one of the last remaining strongholds of William Randolph Hearst.

Let us now consider who is the middleman [the quotation continues]. The gas station attendant is the middleman. The clergyman who serves your spiritual needs, the doctor who ministers to your physical needs, and the lawyer who assists in your legal needs—all of these are middlemen. The editor who publishes your daily paper, the reporter who gathers the news, the lad who delivers the finished product at your door—these, too, are middlemen. . . . This is the great body of American citizens the foreign-conceived cooperatives would "replace."

Replace how and by whom? Cooperative literature undertakes no answer to this question. Perhaps one may surmise that the "cooperators" propose to "liquidate" one-third of our population economically, after the fashion of Europe's totalitarian states.

The Road to Ruin was first delivered as an address to the Rochester Rotary Club, July 18, 1939, by Ray Murphy, assistant manager of the Association of Casualty Surety Executives. When the National Association of Insurance Agents held their annual meeting last October, they decided to make the distribution of Mr. Murphy's oddly conceived defense of the middleman the spearhead of their attack. The pamphlet has since been put in the hands of every insurance man in the country and passed on by them to others.

The insurance companies' resentment of cooperatives is significantly far removed. What the insurance companies really fear is organized action by farmers, whom they have been eyeing with distrust ever since 1932 when a group of Midwestern farmers took up shotguns to defend their homesteads against the insurance companies' auctioneer. Consumer cooperatives are not farmers' organizations in the main, but they do represent another closely allied section of an increasingly indignant and organized public.

While the insurance companies were looking for a public enemy that would not give their own hand away, the Federal Trade Commission announced a complaint against William Randolph Hearst's *Good Housekeeping* magazine. The charges were that the famous "seals of approval" had been granted to inferior, adulterated, and even injurious products, that they had been used as an ad-getting device, and that Good Housekeeping Institute had been exceedingly lax in the alleged scientific tests of advertising claims which its seal supposedly guarantees.

Mr. Richard Berlin, executive vice president of Hearst Magazines, immediately saw eye to eye with the insurance companies. He also saw red. Berlin dispatched a telegram to some three thousand advertisers, advertising men, and publishers, announcing that "certain radical and Communist groups in and out of the government are waging a vigorous fight to eliminate all advertising."

Close on Mr. Berlin's howl came one from that roving reporter Stanley High, who penned a piece called "Guinea Pigs, Left March," ordered by *Readers Digest* but printed first in the *Forum*. In his rush into print, Mr. High neglected to inform himself of the line-up of forces in the struggle; he carelessly smeared Consumers Research along with the other "left marchers." But Messrs. J. B. Matthews and F. J. Schlink were cleared in the expurgated *Readers Digest* version. It has been subsequently noted in several quarters, including the January 1 issue of the *New Republic*, that the original order for Mr. High's tirade came not from *Readers Digest* but from the offices of *Good Housekeeping* itself.

ENTER MR. DIES

The next ally to turn up was none other than the Hon. Martin Dies. On October 30 Mr. Dies announced to Mr. Paul Willis' Associated Grocery Manufacturers of America, assembled at the Waldorf-Astoria, that he was about to investigate Red influences in the consumer movement. Said the gentleman from Texas:

The nation's industrialists must be prepared to take an active part in fighting to preserve this country's institutions. If they take the lead, we will have less of demagogues and racketeers who are able to sway the emotions of an informed people and teach them the damnable doctrines of Socialism and Communism.

Coincidentally, Mr. Dies' announcement came on the same day that the FTC-Hearst hearing opened in New York. The press gave space to Dies as usual, but not an inch to the Hearst case.

Just at this crucial moment *Good Housekeeping* began issuing full page advertisements in which Mr. Hearst implied pretty pointedly that his magazine was the only thing that stood between the American housewife and a system which would dictate what she should buy for dinner. Under the alarming caption, "Designed for Four Soldiers and a Machine Gun—also for Family Use," Mr. Hearst's copywriters ask Mrs. America to face:

. . . your sister from a foreign land, a dictator's decree under her arm. It says: "You are not *competent* to select what is good for you. I, the dictator, will decide that." You face her with a copy of *Good Housekeeping* in your hands. It says: "This is to help you become more competent—to help protect you against fraud and danger so that you can shop in peace—and buy what your heart desires most."

The resultant press hush could be heard from St. Simeon to the halls of the Rockefellers' Chase National Bank. Not even the news magazines touched the story. One of them had a report set up in type, but it melted into the hell box when *Good Housekeeping* opened a new advertising account with the publication.

When a putrified but approved Polish ham exploded in the first day's hearing and cleared the courtroom, one Associated Press reporter slipped up in his excitement and a tiny squib appeared in at least one out-of-town paper. But it disappeared before two editions had run their course.

When the hearings moved out to Chicago, evidence was introduced to show that one shipment of Sunmaid Raisins—approved by Good Housekeeping Institute—had to be recalled by the Pure Food and Drug Administration because they had been sprayed with hydrocyanic acid—a deadly poison. The "seal of approval" stuck. Not a word appeared in the press in Chicago—where Hearst's amalgamated *Evening American* and *Herald & Examiner* are limping along into the second year of the Newspaper Guild strike. The silence was just as intense when FTC's examiners moved on to Washington. Here one *Good Housekeeping* advertiser, L. B. Whitehouse of the Morton Manufacturing Co. of Lynchburg, Va., told that he had been able to secure the "seal" only by placing a fat advertising contract, and had lost it when he ceased advertising—although the product had neither changed nor been retested in the meantime.

THE SMEAR BEGINS

By this time, *Good Housekeeping* was so sure of the press hush that it ventured to come out with another full page ad, a glowing play-by-play account of how a product must strain and struggle to reach the dizzy heights of purity required by the stern examining board of Good Housekeeping Institute.

And then suddenly the dam was broken—not by the weight of evidence against Hearst's

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money-making purity tests, but by a couple of firm friends of William Randolph: the gentleman from Texas, and Man Friday J. B. Matthews, now on a witch's sabbatical from Consumers Research.

Mr. Dies crashed through with the long-promised smear. Constituting himself a one man committee (thus breaking all the rules of procedure the committee had left), he personally received a report from investigator Matthews. When the report was finally made public, it became apparent why Mr. Dies hadn't trusted the rest of the committee to listen in. Hardened as they may be to unsubstantiated charges by discredited witnesses, the Matthews report would have been a tough mouthful for the boys to swallow.

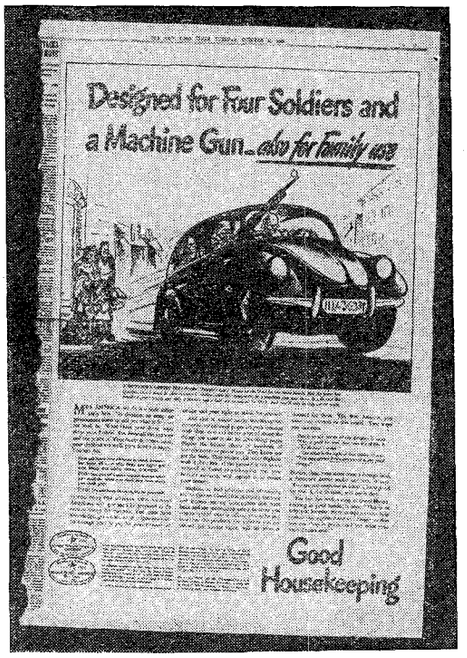
Ever since J. B. decided to stick with the strikebreaking faction of Consumers Research, he has been enjoying the position of No. 1 Red-hunter for Dies. In his brief journey as a fellow traveler, he apparently memorized the name of everyone connected with the Communist Party and a great number of people who were not—and he has since forgotten which was which. For Mr. Hearst's benefit, he dug into his lists and produced a formidable number of consumer organizations which had wittingly or unwittingly become "transmission belts" to Moscow. (The list included almost every bonafide consumer organization extant, except Consumers Research.)

"REVELATIONS"

On the subject of Hearst, Matthews unearthed the "fact" that the despicable plot against *Good Housekeeping* had been instituted by Donald Montgomery, consumer counselor of AAA, and that the original investigation had been financed out of WPA funds. Montgomery promptly and flatly denied the charge, and the WPA-Moscow gold gag was completely exposed—but not on the front pages where it had been charged. (Jerry Voorhis, Dies committee member and personal friend of Montgomery's, protested the entire action and began maneuvering for a "rump" session of the committee at which the consumer might be heard. It has not been held.)

Matthews also revealed that "Communists understand that advertising performs an indispensable function in a mass production economy. . . . Therefore Communists believe that to sabotage and destroy advertising is a revolutionary tactic worthy of a great deal of attention."

Just what that made Consumers Research was not clear at the time and Mr. Schlink's statement to the press next day made it even less clear. Only one thing was established: that whomever Consumers Research was fighting, it was certainly not on the side of the subversive enemies of advertising. Mr. Schlink's real place on the team was made public later—by accident. Before that happened, Richard Berlin had another word to say to the nation's business leaders. As soon as the Matthews report was in Dies' hands,



NO NEWS, OR WHAT KILLED THE STORY. *When the FTC started investigating Good Housekeeping Institute. Hearst shot full page ads such as the above into the big newspapers. Strange to say, no accounts of mercenary "seals of approval" appeared from the investigation chambers.*

Berlin's mammoth mailing list got a little note calling to their attention the importance of the attached communication, which proved to be the *Matthews report in full, dated December 3, for release December 11. Mr. Berlin sent it out dated December 9.*

Where did Berlin get the report ahead of its official release date, in time to have it stenciled and mimeographed? Where did he get those stencils, which so suspiciously resemble official government releases? And whose permission did he have to break a release date?

The fact that one chain connects all the anti-consumer crusaders was becoming more and more apparent, but there were still a couple of missing links. These were supplied late last month by none other than Matthews' old friend and fellow renegade, George Sokolsky of the National Association of Manufacturers and the New York *Herald Tribune*.

Mr. Sokolsky's head had been reared briefly in the early days of the press hush. In the same issue of the *Herald Tribune* that ran a full page ad for *Good Housekeeping* and no news of the FTC case, Mr. Sokolsky devoted his column to George Seldes' *Lords of the Press*. Mr. Sokolsky does not like Mr. Seldes' book but he had waited a long time to say so. The devilish allegation that advertisers control the editorial policies of a paper simply had to be refuted just then.

But Mr. Sokolsky didn't stop with a notice in his column. He offered some real, constructive help to embattled advertisers and publishers. Under his roof (at 300 West End Ave., New York City) one evening early last December, he gathered Paul Nash of the Association of National Advertisers, several important manufacturers such as Henry Bristol of Bristol-Meyers and Robert Lund of Lambert Pharmacal, F. J. Schlink of Consumers Research, and J. B. Matthews himself. Now that the story of this very secret conclave is out, everyone concerned hotly denies any discussion of the Matthews report. J. B. just happened in, uninvited. Nevertheless, the dinner guests between them control enough advertising to make or break any paper in the country; and a week or so later, when Mr. Matthews' report was ready to be spread, the front pages of the nation's papers opened and gave it the kind of play that even Dies can't get any more.

MR. WILLIS HAS AN IDEA

Another county heard from just as the old year was drawing to a close was Mr. Paul Willis (the same Mr. Willis who had played host to Dies at the luncheon where the latter announced his intention of cleaning up the consumer). Mr. Willis is anxious to soothe the millions of consumers offended by the Dies-Matthews-Hearst proceedings. He does not believe that every American housewife is a Red. He does not even view with alarm. He is ready to put his blessing on the housewife's effort to find out a little about what she is buying, *provided* that the wrong people do not encourage her in her pursuits and that what she finds does not weaken her "faith in the American way of life."

With the recurrence of that phrase of NAM authorship, the circle around the consumer was complete—and clearly visible. The play was from insurance (Morgan-controlled) to Hearst (Chase National-Rockefeller) to Martin Dies to J. B. Matthews to Schlink to Sokolsky (National Association of Manufacturers) to Willis and his grocers.

The other side of the picture includes the Joads, who were driven off their land by a mysterious bank (for which read insurance company); the farmers who stayed on the land as hired help; the consumer who has organized into cooperatives to supply himself with the necessities of life on a non-profit basis; the producer who has organized into cooperatives to produce or market his wares; the consumer who has organized to inform himself about what he buys; consumers who have banded together to support those products made under fair labor conditions; consumers who organize to protect themselves from the rising cost of living or the low food value of high-priced milk; and even the consumers and trade unionists who have organized to boycott Japanese aggression.

It's a pretty long list. Almost everybody comes in somewhere—everybody except the monopolist and his hirelings. The lines are more and more sharply drawn. At least one side knows what for.

Perhaps the other side would do well to listen to the joke that is currently circulating in big business circles to the effect that "the only good consumer is a dead consumer."

JOHN CAMERON.

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The West Coast's Awake

Mike Quin gives a round by round account of the recent tieup in San Francisco harbor. The lockout that backfired.

San Francisco.

THE recent tieup of San Francisco Harbor got little mention in the liberal press of the nation because few editors or writers could make out what it was all about. The reactionary press, of course, didn't need the facts and blathered extensively.

For fifty-three and a half days the harbor was shut down and the docks were vacant of ships. The seagulls, accustomed to feeding on garbage from the vessels, circled the bay in hungry, squawking flocks. Ostensibly this resulted from a strike of San Francisco ship clerks who walked out on November 10. That is the story the public heard and which the shipowners took great pains to publicize.

The truth is stranger. The ship clerk strike did not tie up the harbor. It was against twenty-five companies, some twenty-seven remaining unaffected. Ample docking and cargo handling facilities were open at all times and plenty of men were available to work them. The harbor was closed by an organized boycott imposed by all companies, including the American President Lines, sponsored and financed with public funds by the U. S. Maritime Commission.

Employers in San Francisco are conceded to be the most highly organized in the nation. They have adopted a peculiar strategy against labor which, so far, the public has failed to grasp. Instead of trying to prevent strikes and keep them from spreading, they encourage them. This is not as crazy as it sounds.

During 1939 there were two port tieups in San Francisco (both of short duration) over extremely small disputes involving a few men on some particular dock. Action of the men did not tie up the harbors. Employers themselves closed the harbors and the public was informed the tieup was owing to a strike.

SCHOOLBOY STRATEGY

Unions would not tie up an entire industry over soap in a washroom or a few dollars' overtime pay for a few men, but that's exactly what it was made to look like to the public. The strategy is familiar in schoolyards. A small boy, kicked in the shin, lies on the ground and bellows that his leg is broken, in order to get the other boy in trouble.

The recent tieup, however, involved a much deeper conspiracy. Keystone of the plot was the Bridges deportation hearing. That hearing climaxed a five-year, nationwide publicity campaign by employers. Thousands of dollars were poured into it to assure (they hoped) an unfavorable decision. Vast preparations were made to capitalize on the results.

As far back as July 1939, shipowners began advising shippers to get their merchandise shipped in advance because the winter would see a shutdown. Said F. P. Foisie, president of the Waterfront Employers Council: "There is going to be a tieup and it will probably last a long time." Said Almon E. Roth, president of the San Francisco Employers Council: "From now on it is boxing gloves to the finish with Harry Bridges."

THE SHIPOWNERS STALL

When all maritime labor contracts expired on September 30, shipowners stalled and delayed on negotiations for new ones to the point where temporary extensions were necessary. They were marking time because the Bridges deportation decision was not due for many weeks and it was important that their action coincide with it. As the time drew near, they began turning the heat on the small Ship Clerks Union, affiliated with the Longshore and Warehouse Union, which was negotiating a new contract. They all but blew cigar smoke in the boys' faces and kicked them in the shins to drive them out on strike.

Finally they succeeded. The union took a strike vote and was ready to walk out when federal mediator William Geurts urged Harry Bridges to reopen negotiations.

Negotiations were then reopened. This was a nuisance to employers, whose only concern was to get the clerks out on strike. They became more hostile and provocative than ever, to the extent that, on November 10, the clerks took another vote and walked out.

Employers swung into action immediately. The Chamber of Commerce issued a statement declaring that negotiations with the clerks had been proceeding amicably and smoothly, but that Harry Bridges unexpectedly barged in, proclaimed: "I am the Ship Clerks Union," broke off negotiations, and commanded the clerks to strike. Mayor Rossi immediately wired this fiction to President Roosevelt with the advice that a dire emergency existed and instant action was required on Bridges' deportation. The employers glibly assumed the decision would be unfavorable and merely wanted to hurry it up. Both the Chamber of Commerce statement and Rossi's telegram were emblazoned on the front pages of newspapers.

BOYCOTT

In order to expand the difficulty into a port tieup, steamship companies radioed all ships at sea to put into Los Angeles and unload there. An airtight boycott was clamped over the city. The Associated Farmers, that fake organization fronting for Montgomery Street corporations, set up a clamor against Bridges, the unions, and the state government for its failure to outlaw strikes.

Every effort then was made to panic the unions into a coastwise strike. The plan was: to provoke a coastwise tieup on an issue too small and remote to have the wholehearted support of the union memberships; to create resentment and dissension among the men by blaming Bridges and the leadership of the unions for a tieup from which they had little to gain; to time this with the announcement of an unfavorable Bridges deportation decision naming him a Communist; to raise a terrific Red scare and a back-to-work movement that would have left every maritime union on the coast in wreckage.

So clever was the plan that many unionists (and probably some deliberate plants) started arguing that Los Angeles Harbor should have been struck in order to break the boycott of San Francisco. All cargo was being handled through Los Angeles, the shippers paying the expense of transportation the rest of the way. Next would have come Seattle, then Oregon, then the entire coast.

The majority of unionists saw through the strategy, and began calling the employers' hand. The federal Maritime Labor Board proposed arbitration of all issues. Ordinarily this is not possible. In this case, the shoe was on the other foot—the union accepted and the employers refused. It put the latter in a bad spot because they had just finished an expensive five-year publicity campaign advertising impartial arbitration as the holiest of principles and decrying anyone who refused it as a self-confessed scoundrel. They didn't give a damn about the issues in the clerks' strike. What they wanted was a coast tieup.

THE INVESTIGATION

Governor Olson had appointed an investigating committee, which turned in a report confirming that the issues as stated by the union were correct. But the committee recommended, in view of the employers' stubborn stand, that the issue of preferential hiring be set aside and investigated later by an impartial committee, whose findings would be binding on neither side but would serve to inform the public. The governor only passed this proposal on to both sides.

Employers were outraged. This completely removed their stated objections and left them without a leg to stand on. They turned it down on the grounds that the governor had altered the original proposal of the investigating committee.

By this time the public was beginning to wonder if the waterfront had gone crazy. Employers had turned down nineteen different proposals, all of them so reasonable that newspaper editors were having to cut their baloney unusually thin in order to uphold the shipowners' position.

On top of this, Governor Olson had proposed that the state take over operation of the docks in the public interest. This almost made shipowners swallow their cigars. The docks happen to belong to the state and comprise a juicy source of private profit in shipowner hands. Shipowners frankly cursed the

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governor, and openly threatened to continue their boycott of the harbor if his proposal was put into effect. This attitude wasn't helping them with the public. There happen to be government-owned docks on the front —the transport docks at Fort Mason. They have good relations with the unions, hire through the union halls, and use the same men as the private companies do. Yet there is never any trouble—no charges of inefficiency, no complaints. If the accusations voiced by shipowners were true, these government docks would be the first to complain.

LANDIS LET THEM DOWN

In desperation, employers and employer organizations and their ever loyal mayor began bombarding Washington with frantic demands to hurry the deportation decision. Possibly because he has a sense of humor, Dean Landis quietly submitted his report in time for it to be announced on New Year's Day. The Hearst press, however, jumped the gun on it and broke the news December 29. Bridges was vindicated as an honest and forthright character and his accusers were discredited as liars, racketeers, and psychological freaks.

The dramatic impact of Landis' decision on the organized shipowners is something that has not yet been sufficiently considered. The sum total of their influence and effort had been thrown into this case. For an employer to discover that his influence and pocketbook are not supreme completely upsets the very traditions on which he has built his life. Shrewdness would have suggested that the shipowners prolong their boycott a few days for the sake of appearances. Instead, their unity fell apart like an undone package. What was originally intended as the purchase price of the open shop was now looming as a total loss. There was a wild scramble to end the tieup and get the profitable cargoes moving again. Almost overnight the thing was settled, the boycott was called off, and the docks reopened.

The public is still baffled.

Newspapers reported that the men had ended their strike in defeat, gaining nothing. This was the wildest and rawest fiction of the whole nightmare. It was not a strike in the proper sense of the word, but an open shop offensive that crumbled. Negotiations for a ship clerks' contract were resumed. The issue of preferential hiring and registration has not been lost by any means; on the contrary, it is now to be dragged out in the open and established once and for all. The clerks will get their contract—and a good one.

The trouble on the San Francisco front is not over. One of the weirdest and cleverest employer conspiracies in American labor history came to nothing. But employers, organized and able to maneuver on such a scale, are no small power. It's an issue between industrial dictatorship and industrial democracy. The employers are figuring out their next move.

MIKE QUIN.

O'Sheel and the Weasels

A reply to the Committee for Cultural Freedom by a friend of labor. Light on the blind alley boys.

We are pleased to publish in slightly abridged form a letter by Shaemas O'Sheel, well known writer and recently American Labor Party candidate for sheriff of Dutchess County, N. Y., replying to a communication he received from the Committee for Cultural Freedom. This is a Trotskyite-Lovestonite front organization of which John Dewey is honorary chairman, Sidney Hook chairman, and Ferdinand Lundberg secretary. The letter from the Committee for Cultural Freedom was sent to some of the more than four hundred signers of a statement issued in August by the American Council on Soviet Relations giving a point-by-point refutation of the charge that the Soviet Union and the fascist dictatorships were essentially the same.—THE EDITORS.

DEAR MR. LUNDBERG: You wrote me in my "capacity as a signer of an Open Letter sent out from the office of the American Council on Soviet Relations and published in the *Daily Worker,* official organ of the Communist Party, of August 14." Living far from New York City, I do not share your good fortune of seeing the *Daily Worker* regularly. I did not know that my name had been honored by citation in its columns. But I recall with pride that I signed a letter traversing the statement with which the Committee for Cultural Freedom first bid for public attention. Let us agree that we are referring to the same document.

I cannot, however, agree with either the neat flattery or the covert insult so subtly blended in the last clause of the sentence of your letter of November 20 which reads: "The European war caused by the attack of Germany upon Poland, following the signing of the Russian-German Pact, gives an importance to that letter and your signature they would not otherwise have." Since 1903 I have been a close student of international affairs, at the feet of excellent teachers. The McLemore Resolution which I wrote in 1916 —warning Americans against travel on the vessels of belligerent powers, an idea which Congress embodied in the public statutes in 1935 and which reappears as Section 5 of the neutrality law recently enacted—nearly kept America out of the First World War. It did delay our universally regretted adventure into that war by a year, incidentally thereby affording temporal scope not only for the Irish Rebellion but for the series of revolutions in the Russian realm which culminated in the establishment of the Soviet Union. However much or little importance may attach to any view I hold of international events does not rest on the opinion of John Dewey, or of any of your committee, or of any of my co-signers of the letter which distresses you.

But of course the sentence I have quoted from your letter of November 20 was obviously framed as a cunning means of putting forward the snide suggestion implied in the linked phrases "the attack of Germany upon Poland, following the signing of the Russian-German Pact." For two thousand years the fallacy of *post hoc propter hoc* has been a commonplace of logic, but of course it remains a favorite device both of those who cannot think clearly and of those who can think all too clearly toward attempted deception. It does not deceive me. I reject the suggestion that the Soviet-German Pact (if you will permit me to correct your use of the antiquated term "Russian" for a state which consists of scores of federated republican peoples) was a calculated and decisive preliminary to Hitler's assault upon Poland.

In all my years of watching international events, I have never observed any series of occurrences more easy to understand, more truly in fact what they have seemed to be in the report, than the breakup of the late Polish state and the actions of the Soviet Union consequent thereon. Among all those who with malice propagate—among all those who emotionally parrot—the charge that the Soviet Union betrayed Poland, betrayed democracy, betrayed the so-called "democracies," who has yet dared to deny, and attempt with facts to support the denial, of the following simple propositions:

That the Soviet Union patiently over several years attempted to realize the concept of collective security against fascist aggression?

That the Soviet Union in the immediate situation presented by Hitler's designs against Poland earnestly and urgently strove to build a front against those designs, demanding however, sensibly and properly, that such front should be broad enough to be effective in all contingencies, and that the obligations of its various constituents should be reciprocal?

That the Polish government spurned the Soviet proposals?

That the British and French imperial governments backed Poland in its non-cooperative stand and at the same time encouraged Poland to defy Hitler?

That the British and French imperialist governments promised Poland every kind and degree of effective military, material, and monetary support? And that these same governments cynically defaulted on those promises when the Nazi storm broke on Poland?

That by September 17 the Polish government had actually disintegrated, that its president, premier, and other high officials, its commander-in-chief and other military leaders, had either fled into Rumania or were heading thither at top speed?

That the Nazi fury, with nothing to stop it, was within a few miles of those territories of the Polish state which were inhabited almost wholly by Ukrainians and Byelo Russians?

That the sudden intervention of the Red Army saved a third of the territory and more than a third of the inhabitants of what had been Poland from the terrible visitation which had stricken those other millions who had looked pathetically to Moscicki

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and Beck and Rydz-Smigly, to Chamberlain and Daladier, to save them?

That the territories of the former Polish state finally retained under Soviet control really had been stolen from the Soviet Union twenty years ago; that the peoples of these territories really are Ukrainians, Byelo Russians, and Jews; that they had been viciously exploited and savagely oppressed by the Polish landlords?

That the claim of the Soviet Union to those territories is morally and legally identical with the claim of Eire (Ireland) to those six northeast counties which were partitioned off from their motherland at about the same time, and over which the Irish government will reassert its authority at the earliest opportunity?

That, discounting whatever roseate coloring Soviet reports may be thought to have given the events, the peoples of western Ukraine and western Byelo Russia did in fact welcome the Red Army and have in fact subsequently voted overwhelmingly for reunion with their motherlands?

If there is any among the foregoing questions which any member of the Committee for Cultural Freedom will attempt to answer in the negative, let the answer be made —but let it be an answer, not an explosion of unsubstantiated allegations, or an incoherency of emotional surmises.

But at the time your committee published its original statement, no Soviet-German Pact had been signed, no dismemberment of Poland had occurred. You did not wait for these events to couple the Soviet Union (in your statement also miscalled "Russia") with Germany, Italy, Japan, and Franco's Spain as a land where totalitarianism has put art, science, education, individual liberty, and personal dignity in chains. Now, you could not in a month's research find a man more confessedly ignorant of Marxian thought than I. It may interest you to know that from the summer of 1937 to the summer of 1939 I wrote scores and scores of letters, to the press and to all of the few Communists I know, sharply questioning and criticizing various points and aspects of Soviet policy and of the policy of the American Communists.

TWO WORLDS

But though ignorant of Marx and Marxism, I do not wholly lack either a knowledge of history, or the reasoning faculty, or common sense. I have pity and hope for those who at present can see no difference between the land where the very possibility of exploitation of man by man—the root of all inequality, injustice, oppression, and repression—has been rooted out, and those lands where the special privilege of exploitation has been reinforced by the terrorism and thuggery of fascism. But for those who see the difference clearly enough yet employ such resources as they severally possess of learning, of authority, and of cunning to propagate the fiction of the identity of Communism and fascism, the similarity between the Soviet Union and the fascist lands, I have only such contempt as the world has agreed to feel toward Judas Iscariot and Benedict Arnold.

There are both sorts on the Committee for Cultural Freedom. You are my authority for the belief that Henry Seidel Canby's great talents have been at the service of that member of Wall Street's reputedly most powerful banking house whose special function is to influence public opinion. Next on the list of your committee members I see the name of Max Eastman. I still hope to find time to send you some day, as I promised a year ago, some notes on the political-financial career of the late Thomas Fortune Ryan, and when I do, you will see why my distrust of Max Eastman began thirty-one years ago; and why the same thing applies to another of your committeemen, Charles Edward Russell. Next I see the name of Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, whose anxiety to devote the youth of America to the horrible death of battle was lately expressed with such amazing crudity. Will you tell me when Henry Hazlitt or John Haynes Holmes has ever played any role but to lead intellectuals and liberals up blind alleys? Ben Huebsch I consider an honest man; but I could tell you a story dating from 1917 which would cast an unhappy light on his qualifications as a guide and counselor.

WHAT A GALAXY!

Next I see the name of Ludwig Lore whom, with apologies to Milt Gross, I always call in my private thoughts "Ludwig dot Dope"; the "expert," the "authority," who has established the unapproachable all-time record for being wrong on every side of every international question, whose sole consistency is his hatred of the Soviet Union whatever it may do. Eugene Lyons, whose only claim to respect is that, like a clever prostitute, he got a high price for his shame; Dorothy Thompson, Norman Thomas, Carlo Tresca—what a galaxy! Yet even they, one would think, would shrink from permitting association of their names on the same list with two I see there: Ben Stolberg—whose latest service to Cultural Freedom is the attempt to stop the flow of American relief to the starving, suffering Spanish refugees in the grip of Dictator Daladier. And Louis Waldman!

I recently had some firsthand experience of Louis Waldman's way of serving democracy and progress. I was the American Labor Party candidate for sheriff of Dutchess County, N. Y. Early in October I learned that as a candidate I must say "Aye" to a set of preposterous resolutions, false in substance and alien to the purposes of my party, falsely given to an astonished world as having been passed by the Executive Committee of that party. Promptly and publicly I repudiated those resolutions; with the result that, although the membership of the party in Dutchess County sustained my position, my county chairman was able completely to sabotage my campaign and the party's whole campaign in Dutchess. My county chairman is an employee of David Dubinsky, for whom Luigi Antonini and Alex Rose are mere Charlie McCarthys. And is the connection between Dave Dubinsky and Louis Waldman any secret? During the recent campaign, the American Labor Party was in effect run by Louis Waldman; with the result that the party's vote declined throughout the state nearly 50 percent.

VERY CLEVER, MR. LUNDBERG

Your letter closes with a question, whether signers of the Open Letter intended to express approval of the charges against your committee or only sympathy "with the policies of the Soviet Union as you understood them at that time." That is clever; that is really subtle. It is an invitation to timorous "intellectuals" to hurry and answer, "We sympathized with the policies of the Soviet Union at that time, but now—goodness me, no!" On the other hand, those who answer that they still "sympathize" with the policies of the Soviet Union—why, what a list they will make for you to offer to Martin Dies! Well, go ahead and give him my name. It is in his files twice already, signed to demands that he investigate the only real Red propaganda this country has to fear—British Red Propaganda; to which he has not replied.

This letter is already so long that I shall not extend it to include any detailed examination of those occurrences in Finland which are certainly not impartially related in the dispatches so far at hand. I could of course refer you to the view of George Bernard Shaw. Or I could suggest that before we form opinions we ought to investigate the relation of International Nickel to the situation. I could point to the scrupulous respect which the USSR has shown for the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and the satisfaction manifest in those countries over the pacts of mutual assistance which they concluded with the Soviets. I could suggest that in the light of these treaties, the mobilization of the Finnish army and the partial evacuation of Helsinki, weeks ago, may lend some color of credibility to the Soviet allegations of a provocative attitude by the government that is evidently still dominated by old Butcher Mannerheim. But I am willing to leave these matters to the elucidation of time. Let me just recall one thing:

No sooner had this country entered the First World War than my late lamented friend Billy Cary, congressman from Milwaukee, introduced three resolutions in Congress—calling for the liberation of Poland, Finland, and Ireland. The independence of Poland and Finland was promptly recognized by the Soviet government; and though each of these countries repaid that recognition by joining in the attempt to suppress the Soviets, the recognition stood. But Ireland is still partitioned, one-sixth of it still considered a part of the United Kingdom, and the rest still constrained to acknowledge the British king and to remain a part of the most predatory empire in the world and in all history.

If you contemplate addressing further questions to your critics, or to any list you may think worth addressing, would it be too much

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to ask you to add to your queries the following: "Do you approve of British policy in Ireland, in India, in Palestine, and elsewhere throughout the scores of territories where it holds hundreds of millions in enforced subjection?" You might even add, "Do you approve of French policy in Syria, in Morocco, in Annam?"

My answer I give you in advance: I approve of liberty everywhere, of conquest and coercion nowhere. I approve of peace where the people are free, and of war if it is necessary to set the people free.

SHAEMAS O'SHEEL.

Colonel Blimp Snoozes

LORD BEAVERBROOK'S London *Evening Standard* published a story from Stockholm December 21, to the effect that the Red Army had just seized 142 leading citizens of Vilna, and spirited them to jail in the USSR. Vilna was evacuated by the Red Army October 28, and the city restored to Lithuania.

Tant Mieux . . . Tant Pis

The French wits find a way to express their disillusion with the "phony" war. Debunking under difficulties.

SOME idea of the uneasiness that exists in France about the war can be read between the lines of the following editorial, by Pierre Benard, from the front page of *Le Canard Enchainee,* a Parisian satirical weekly. Almost censored out of existence in the first days of the war, the *Canard* now proceeds warily with one eye on Daladier's repression and the other on just how to phrase the feeling of Frenchmen.

A screwy war. That's a rather unpleasant phrase, isn't it? But actually it isn't the war that's screwy; it's the manner in which the so-called accredited people have been telling us about it.

F'rinstance: When, around the beginning of September, the USSR surprised everybody by concluding its pact with the Reich, all our duly constituted authorities announced: "Hitler has just committed his first blunder."

As nobody knew what else to say and was sort of resigned to such surprises, everybody naively thought: "Not so bad!"

Then he invaded Poland and started to persecute its inhabitants. According to official communiques, all this was contrary to the rights of sovereign peoples and nobody could have foreseen it. Everybody then murmured: "Not so good!"

During the period when France and Great Britain were negotiating with the Soviet Union, we were told about the tremendous power of the Red Army. The Red Army had motorized divisions, planes, n'everything. Mme. Genevieve Tabouis and M. Pertinax were able to give us such details down to the last cartridge. Not so bad!

Well, now we're told that these tremendous military forces are turned against us.

Candidly, everybody must think: "Not so good!"

Perhaps we are wrong to become so pessimistic. A news story in *Paris-Midi* clears this up. It says: "Foreign observers are shocked to find that 30 percent of the shells discharged by the Russian batteries on the Finnish front do not explode."

Everybody smiles hurriedly, trying to forget the other 70 percent. And, solemnly, people say: "Not so bad!"

Then when the newsreels show us the films that are supposed to show the ruins of Helsinki, it seems that some bombs went off. Not so good!

Aha! The Finns are resisting heroically. In the polar night, the radio tells us of their exploits. And in giant headlines *Paris-Midi* proclaims: "The rout of the Russians is turning into a disaster!" Not so bad.

But Mme. Genevieve Tabouis, in *L'Oeuvre,* explains to us, in her irrefutable manner, that the failure of Stalin in Finland is a triumph for Hitler who has now become Bolshevik No. 1. Naturally everyone becomes apprehensive and murmurs: "Not so good!"

A screwy war, as they say. How can it be otherwise?

For, once we were told that Russia was overflowing with oil. Now it appears that they haven't any at all.

Not so bad!

Now they announce that the Soviet has an eye on Rumania.

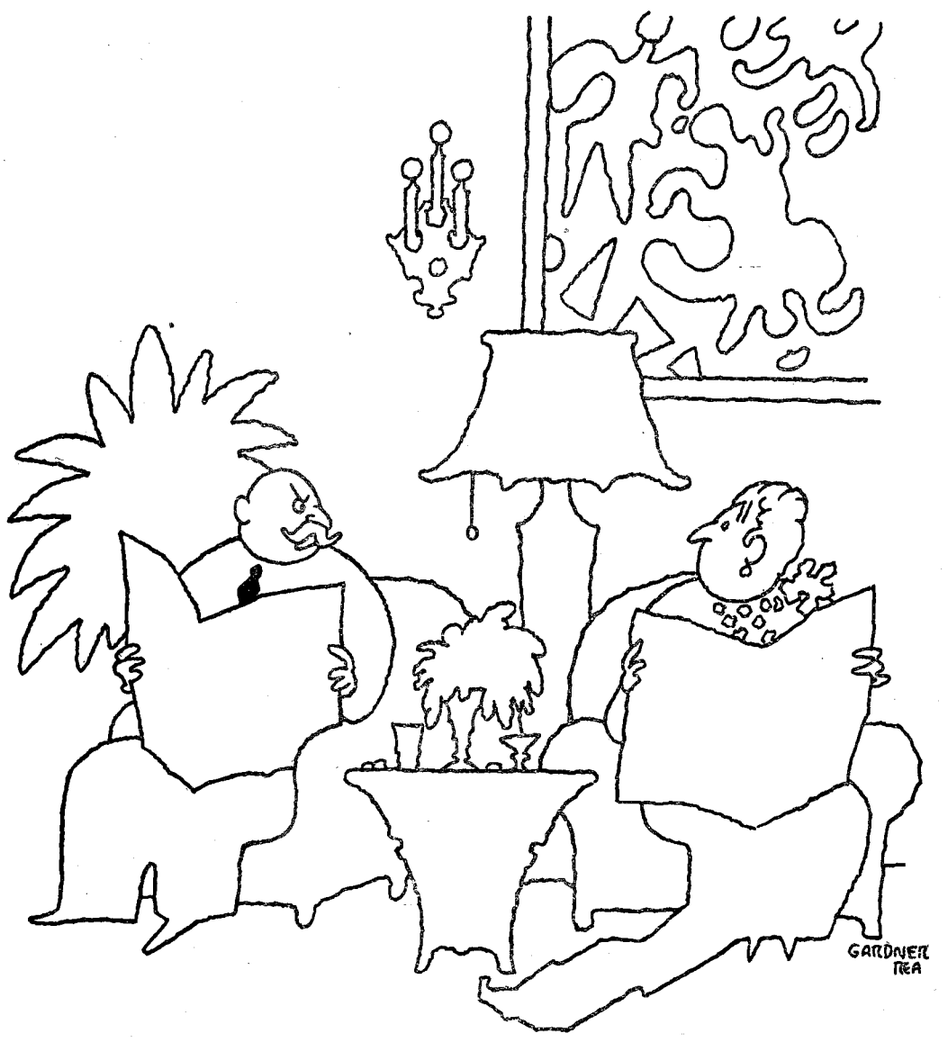
Not so good!

All those "well informed" gents seem to be telling us bedtime stories to lull us to sleep.

Not so bad.

But nobody believes the stories.

Not so good!



Gardner Rea

MAJOR NERTZ OF THE FASCIST SHIRTS

"But we mustn't hate RUSSIA, my love! Just SOVIET Russia."

Memo to Spanish Refugees

"A CERTAIN foreign frivolous attitude of good taste . . . invaded certain sections of our society that take imbecile pleasure in scandalizing patient and sensitive Spaniards with the example of their distinguished manner of living on the edge of the profound tragedy that has come to our land at the end of two centuries of decadence."—"ARRIBA," *Madrid newspaper of the Falange Espanola.*

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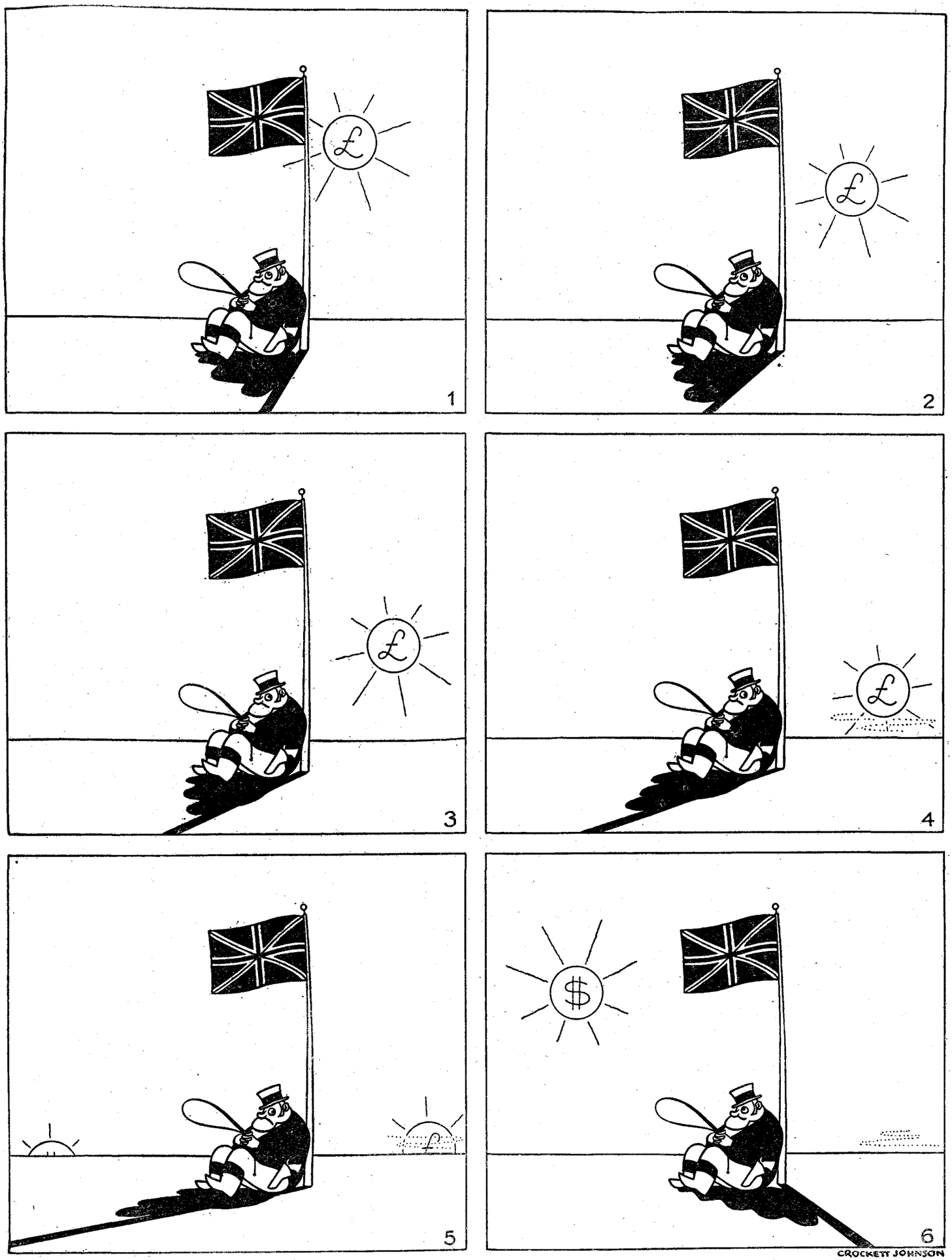

The Sun Never Sets on the British Flag

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NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

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Dollars and Finmarks

SIXTY MILLION dollars is not a large sum by American standards. Our budget is reckoned in billions, especially when armaments are involved. In the agitation for a loan to the Mannerheim government of either sixty or a hundred million dollars, no one has paused to inquire what such a sum would mean in Finnish marks: $60,000,000 equals three billion Finnish marks; $100,000,000 equals five billion Finnish marks. Even that may mean nothing to Americans. But the Department of Commerce Bulletin for Aug. 19, 1939, reveals that the estimated Finnish 1939 revenue was only 4,507,000,000 marks. The revenue from taxation was calculated as 3,433,000,000 marks. This means that bills before Congress suggesting sixty or one hundred million dollar loans *would be giving Mannerheim almost as much, if not more, than the total government revenue for this year.* In American terms, try to imagine what it would mean if some nation gave the United States approximately six billion dollars: why that is half the accumulated war debt! It is one-fourth the total Roosevelt deficit!

Public alarm over this measure on the justifiable grounds that loans of this kind will involve the American people in war is causing many senators and representatives to raise their eyebrows. People ought to note carefully that the heat is coming from the White House. Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose 1940-41 budget cuts social services in favor of armaments, is apparently more insistent than anyone else upon exploiting the Finnish issue for its anti-Soviet possibilities.

Across the Border

CANADA floated its first war loan last week. Some $200,000,000 were involved. Great Britain itself has not yet embarked upon loan-financing. As in other aspects of the war, such as suppression of civil liberties, Canada rather than the mother country is taking the offensive. This particular loan was both an opportunity for American capital and a test of the Neutrality Act. It was a handsome opportunity to cash in on the favorable exchange rate. Dollars these days buy more than a dollar's worth of Canadian bonds. More important is the aspect of test for our neutrality. Under the Pittman act, Americans are forbidden to extend credit to belligerents. Yet the State Department in no way prevented American participation in this loan. This week, it issued a ruling that American-owned Canadian subsidiaries were to be considered strictly Canadian corporations. This provides a loophole for large-scale American financing of the Allied war program.

Military Communique

NEWS from Finland has been muffled in the last few days. Headlines are more modest, claims less fantastic, reports less lurid. That in itself must mean that the Red Army is making considerable progress. A major battle is apparently developing north of Lake Ladoga, which represents Red Army efforts to outflank the Mannerheim Line zone. The press admits "from non-Russian sources" that important fighting is taking place thirty-five miles west of Salla. This is the town, it should be recalled, which the Finns "captured" ten days ago, where the famous 163rd Division of the Red Army was "annihilated."

In its report after six weeks' activities, the Red Army communique lambasted the "childish, witless, laughable" lies of the foreign anti-Soviet news agencies. Denying that Finnish troops had ever penetrated Soviet soil, or that the Murmansk railway had ceased operations for a moment, the communique gave figures for the approximate positions of the enemy. Red Army advances were not disclosed; but quite obviously, Finnish troops are on the defensive; the initial Red Army gains have been well maintained. Airforce operations increased last week with clearing weather. Railway junctions, munitions depots, and seacoast towns on railway lines were bombed. The figures of people killed or wounded as reported in the capitalist press were so significantly small that the essential thesis of George Seldes' articles in NEW MASSES is again confirmed: namely, the Soviet airmen are adhering to their instructions not to wantonly or deliberately bombard civilian populations.

Jobs, Not Battleships

ADMIRAL STARK'S proposal for a super-navy capable of defending "our home waters, the Monroe Doctrine, our possessions, and our trade routes against a coalition . . . of Japan, Russia, Germany, and Italy" is as arrogant and preposterous as the President's insistence upon a super-loan to White Guard Finland. Testifying in support of the Vinson bill, which would appropriate $1,300,000,000 for the construction of seventy-seven combatant and thirty auxiliary ships, the admiral declared that a 5:3 ratio over any combination of hypothetical opponents was necessary for the Pacific and a 4:3 ratio in the Atlantic.

This is truly a fiscal phantasmagoria. The truth is that funds of the $1,200,000,000 1938 appropriation have not been expended. That was a ten-year building program; there is no justification in terms of domestic needs and international events to revise the 1938 schedules. The notion of a coalition of powers endangering American security is sheer blackmail. By no stretch of the imagination does the Soviet Union threaten the United States. Germany's seapower was scuttled off Scapa Flow twenty years ago; Italy's tonnage compares laughably with our own. To stop Japanese aggression, not at some future date, but *now,* as it manifests itself in China, all that is necessary is an adequate foreign policy. If Washington clamped an embargo upon Japan *tomorrow* that would be far less costly, and far more effective than a super-navy in 1945. As for defending the Monroe Doctrine, it was President Cardenas of Mexico who insisted this week that the doctrine was dead. If Mr. Hull's good neighbor pretensions at Buenos Aires and Lima were worth a tinker's dam, the hemisphere doesn't need super-battleships for common defense.

We Told You So

WELL, at long last the nation's papers are printing proof of Coughlin's hook-up with the Christian Front Jew-baiters and terrorists as exposed in John L. Spivak's articles in NEW MASSES a few weeks ago. The arrest this week of seventeen Christian Front gorillas, complete with arsenal and National Guard munitions and directed by a captain of the Sixty-ninth Regiment, again confirmed Spivak's charges. The Christian Front is now accused of plotting to:

Wipe out all Jews.

Bomb the Brooklyn and Philadelphia Navy yards.

Assassinate fourteen United States congressmen.

Bomb the plant of the *Jewish Daily Forward,* Yiddish language newspaper published in New York.

Wreck West Point and Annapolis.

Bomb the Cameo Theater, on West 42nd Street, N. Y. C., specializing in Soviet films.

Seize Federal Reserve Banks, National Guard Armories, the United States Customs House, railway terminals, the main postoffice in New York, and all utilities.

Bomb the offices of the *Daily Worker,* Communist daily.

Wreck the offices of the American League for Peace and Democracy on Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

When NEW MASSES called for action for eight weeks, sent all its material to government departments, and showed the need for investigating Coughlin and his Christian Fronters, no response was heard from Attorney General Murphy.

Although public pressure and fear of Coughlinite attacks mounted, Murphy was able to say to his press conference a couple of weeks ago that "he didn't know when Father Coughlin had ever been accused of anti-Semitism." Whereupon Mr. Murphy ascended to the realm of the Supreme Court as the Christian Fronters heiled their leader, "Father Coughlin," and set their week of bombings for January 20-27.

While we are relieved to see some attention paid to the revelations of NEW MASSES,

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Coughlin is still at large as well as the various "shirt" leaders and their cohorts.

What about them, Mr. Attorney General Jackson? Are G-man Hoover and his silver-starred dicks using the roundup of these degenerate Christian Fronters as a cover for closing down on all civil liberties? Americans want to see the big fellows caught, too. They are apprehensive when the underlings are arrested and Silver Charlie himself goes free—to build another organization of anti-Semites and fascists.

J. Edgar's Card Index

A. Mitchell Palmer was a Quaker but J. Edgar Hoover was brought up on gangsters and daily puffs from Winchell. The chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation told the House Appropriations Committee that he has a card index of persons to be picked up "in wartime," and asked for $1,475,000 for upkeep in the coming year. Five days before the request, Hoover fed Winchell a Sunday night flash, courtesy of Jergens Lotion, to the effect that he had discovered a plot to blow up Boulder Dam. The story was so preposterous that only Hearst and the New York *Post* emblazoned it, and the author was obliged to embarrass Walter by withdrawing it next day.

Rep. Vito Marcantonio, American Laborite, smashed into Hoover's Gestapo index on the floor of the House. "We are preparing a general raid against civil rights, a blackout of the civil liberties of the American people, a system of terror by index cards such as you have in the Gestapo countries of the world," said Marcantonio. "We are engendering a hysteria which is a menace to the people of the United States." Given the appropriation, Hoover will begin to play these cards against democracy in that new game of dealer's choice begun by ex-New Dealer Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Will the American people tolerate this conspiracy against the Bill of Rights?

Lynching Before the Senate

The federal Anti-Lynching Bill has again passed the House, 252 to 131. It passed last year, to be filibustered to pieces by Southern reactionaries in the Senate. Now it goes to the Senate again and nationwide pressure must be exerted immediately to prevent the Bourbon statesmen from ditching it.

A bristling series of anti-alien bills have an even better chance to get the immediate attention of the House and Senate. The Senate has followed the lead of the House in passing one of them, the Starnes bill, monument to the statesmanship of Alabama's Joe Starnes, distinguished wing-collar goon of the Dies committee. The bill passed the Senate with a mumbled hearing and accompanied by the declaration of Sen. Bob Reynolds, the tarheel fuehrer, that America "coddles and pampers aliens." This phenomenally unconstitutional legislation proposes the ousting of all aliens who "admit in writing" to un-American practices. No statute of limitations affects the "crime," no jury or judge is provided for the case, and the lowest estimate of the number of people who could be deported under this shameful bill is two million.

Crisis in Japan

Admiral Yonai's leadership of the new Japanese Cabinet is being touted as a swing toward "moderation." The admiral's appointment was a surprise; it was regarded as a virtual certainty that General Hata, army minister in the last Cabinet, would get the premiership. But the distinction between the navy as moderate, and the army as intractable, is tenuous. The Japanese have shifted horses because the Japanese-American relations are in a crisis; the bargaining over the 1911 trade treaty, which expires on the 26th of this month, is going rather badly. The United States has a jiujitsu grip on Japanese economy: the war in Europe increases Japanese dependence upon American oil, scrap iron, copper, and cotton, essential for continuing the invasion of China. But Washington appears unwilling to use its advantage to bring Japan to a halt. As V. E. Motylev, Soviet Far Eastern expert, emphasized last week in *Pravda,* American policy consists of allowing both belligerents in the Far East to exhaust each other, with the aim of imposing a peace corresponding to the imperialist interests of the United States.

Mr. Stimson's letter to the New York *Times* last week assumes the character of a warning to the State Department. He wants an embargo upon Japan. Representing that section of capital which sees long-range advantage in the preservation of China's integrity for American commercial penetration, he disagrees that Japan can simply be wooed to respect American interests on the Asiatic mainland. Critical of the State Department's trend to appeasement, his arguments coincide with the overwhelming popular opinion.

The new Cabinet cannot be considered moderate. It is a Cabinet of maneuver designed to achieve the best possible bargain with the United States. But it is the second Cabinet to fall within five months. The Hiranuma Ministry, admitting complete frustration of its foreign policy, resigned a few days after the Soviet-German Pact. The new change comes at a moment of increasing economic difficulties: rice shortages and speculation emphasize the war weariness of the Japanese people. The Cabinet shift, still expressing the dominance of the same reactionary gang which instigated the "China Affair," nevertheless dramatizes the increasing fragility of Japanese politics.

The USSR and China

Meanwhile, the Chinese National government reports new victories around Nanning where Japanese forces threaten to sever railroad communications with French Indo-China. Chinese unity continues unimpaired; the Wang Ching-wei puppet regime will attract only the traitors to China's cause. Friends of China ought to remember that despite great moral pretensions in Washington, *it is the USSR which continues help to the Chinese people.* The Soviet credit of $140,000,000 last August contrasts with the measly $25,000,000 from the Export-Import Bank. Now that the White House is pushing proposals for fabulous loans to Finland, Americans have a right to ask why Washington does not react to China's request for credits of $100,000,000. There's no mistaking that a strong, independent China is the cornerstone of Soviet policy: very significantly, the Supreme Soviet chose the week in which Japanese delegates arrived for trade discussion to ratify a commercial treaty with China concluded last June.

V. I. Lenin

It is sixteen years since Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin died. At his death more people grieved in more countries of the world than ever mourned the passing of any individual in history. For Lenin was great, colossally great not only because of his unique talents, but because he identified his whole life and work with the class which alone is capable of social greatness in the modern world, the working class. Lenin loved the people and taught the necessity of learning from, as well as teaching, the people. Like Marx, he geared science to history, made thought and action deeply fertile by fusing them with the interests of the proletariat. That is why Lenin's life was so fruitful, why his heritage, Leninism, continues to grow with the growth of life itself.

Stalin has defined Leninism as the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Lenin literally rediscovered Marx, rescued his work from the hands of its Social Democratic debauchers, brilliantly extended Marx's discoveries to illuminate the problems of the monopoly stage of capitalism, and created the political party that led the Russian people to freedom and socialism. He forged a movement that was international, the kind of movement that Marx and Engels dreamed of and sought unsuccessfully to establish. This is an internationalism based on devotion to the national interests of the majority of every country. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet Union has demonstrated that only socialism can secure self-determination for oppressed nations and at the same time unite them in a brotherhood of peoples. Today in Nazi Poland and in the newly liberated western Ukraine and Western Byelo Russia millions of people are receiving in their own daily lives contrasting lessons in capitalist and socialist solutions of the national problem.

One of Lenin's greatest achievements was his fight against the first imperialist war. Sixteen years after his death we are faced with the fight against the second. The American people need to learn from Lenin how to wage this fight successfully. They need to learn from the land of Leninism, the Soviet Union, how to abolish hunger, how to

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organize a life of peace and prosperity for the common man. The Soviet people have been twice blest; they have produced not one supremely great leader, but two, Lenin and Stalin. Pursuing the Leninist principle of playing off conflicting imperialisms to further the interests of socialism, the USSR, under the leadership of Stalin, moves forward despite the howls of hate and the bloodthirsty conspiracies of foreign imperialism and its pawns. In Moscow's Red Square thousands gaze on Lenin's dead face and know that the future belongs to them and to people like them in all parts of the world.

Scandinavian Rumbling

PUBLICATION of Soviet notes to Sweden and Norway protesting warmongering and general assistance to Finland foreshadows serious developments in the Scandinavian peninsula. Asserting that the Swedish attitude toward Finland and the Soviet Union "could be explained only if Sweden were in a state of war with the USSR or was preparing for such a war," the Soviet government, by its very choice of language, shows how ominous it considers the situation.

For Americans, of course, this comes as no surprise. Our newspapers have boasted for weeks of Swedish and Norwegian support to the Mannerheim government. Reports have been blazoned in the headlines of at least ten thousand "volunteers" arriving in Finland with the blessings of Stockholm. President Kallio of Finland was freely quoted as thanking sister nations for their practical help. In the Anglo-Swedish economic accord three weeks ago it was generally reported that England was making up for Swedish petroleum and munitions shipments to Helsinki. As though pointing an example to be emulated by the United States, the American press has thoroughly prepared its audience for Swedish and Norwegian intervention against the Red Army. The Export-Import Bank loan of $10,000,000 to Norway and the impending loan to Sweden would have given unmistakable evidence to any government of the substantial backing from administration circles which the Scandinavian countries enjoy.

Trade Pact Debate

CORDELL HULL'S elaborate defense of the trade agreements program before the Ways and Means Committee last week brings to a focus the debate over foreign trade policy. The Trade Agreements Act must be extended by June 12; the Republicans bid to make it a major issue in their congressional campaign preparatory to the November elections. Mr. Hull's arguments were as familiar as his statistics are valid. American foreign trade has increased by 45 percent since 1934. The increase reaches 61 percent with those twenty-two countries whose trade is regulated on a reciprocal basis; only 38 percent with the rest.

Republican criticism of the administration program is partly based on the protectionist sentiment which dominated American policy during the twenties, in part responsible for the disastrous crisis in the early thirties. If the Republican position is largely demagogic, Mr. Hull's insistence that his trade pacts promote international amity is likewise overstated. The administration is clearly preparing for war; the orientation of the economy is in this direction. Trade agreements were never more than a peculiarly American technique for improving the position of American capital at the expense of its rivals. The exigencies of capitalist decline compelled Germany and Great Britain to undertake autarchic trade policies sooner than the United States; Mr. Hull could very well insist on more classical trade policies only because the American economy was relatively stronger than others. But the Department of Agriculture's export subsidy program for cotton and wheat, and the activity of the Export-Import Bank are in principle just as totalitarian as Germany's methods and are made necessary by similar compulsions. Trade agreements will hardly keep peace when powerful forces within American capitalism are working toward war.

"Hamilton Is My Hero"

ON JANUARY 8 the Democratic Party held a number of Biddle Day dinners throughout the country. Of course, they weren't called that; they were advertised as Jackson Day dinners. But the principles celebrated at these affairs were not those of the grand old fighter for democracy who was the seventh President of the United States, but of his arch-foe, Nicholas Biddle, president of the Bank of the United States.

Franklin D. Roosevelt led the retreat from Andrew Jackson. Compare his chit-chat this year with the fighting speech of a year or two years ago, and you have the measure of the administration's flight from its former principles. Last year's Jackson Day speech was a call to arms in the struggle against reaction. The President openly invited the Democratic tweedledums to get out of the party and join the Republican tweedledees. He urged a united front of all those "who also preach the liberal gospel, so that, firmly allied, we may continue a common constructive service to the people of the country." This year the President extended his invitation in reverse; the Republicans were invited both physically and politically to join with the Democrats. "They are grand fellows," he said of the three Republican leaders in Congress, "liked by me and by every Democrat in the Congress." And he sought to give historical roots to this new *entente cordiale* with reaction by describing Alexander Hamilton as "a hero to me" and coupling him with Jefferson.

In his 1938 Jackson Day speech President Roosevelt said:

> We know that there will be a few—a mere handful of the total of business men and bankers and industrialists—who will fight to the last ditch to retain such autocratic controls over the industry and the finances of the country as they now possess.
>
> With this handful it is going to be a fight—a cheerful fight on my part, but a fight in which there will be no compromise with evil—no letup until the inevitable day of victory.

A victory has indeed been won—the Roosevelt war-and-hunger budget eloquently testifies by whom.

Roundup

"NOTICE: I forbid anyone to hire or harbor Herman Miles, colored, during the year 1939—A. P. Dobbs, Route One, Yanceyville." That was the notice printed recently in the *Caswell Messenger* of North Carolina, evidence of Southern peonage which is being taken up by the National Cotton Conference in Washington, arranged by the CIO Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union. Twenty-five sharecroppers from Arkansas, Missouri, Texas, Oklahoma, Alabama, and Louisiana, led by Rev. Owen H. Whitfield, who organized last year's southeast Missouri highway sitdown, will present demands for an end to evictions, adequate relief, a rural housing program, and a ruling by the AAA that no planter may obtain government subsidies unless he pays minimum wages to the croppers. Rev. Whitfield will come on to New York City for a mass meeting at Hotel Diplomat, Thursday, January 25.

"SIR JOHN ANDERSON TOWN HALL EDINBURGH URGENT WOMEN IN EDINBURGH WANT PEACE" was the text of a flood of telegrams that came to the speaker's table at the City Corporation luncheon in Edinburgh, Scotland, last week, as the home secretary visited Scotland to "improve the morale." Sir John was flabbergasted.

Maj. Gen. Charles A. Bailey, USA Retired, resigned last week from the Jamestown, N. Y., American Legion Post, to protest against a Legion ban on the speaking appearance of Anna Louise Strong, friend of the USSR.

The brutal murder of Mrs. Dick Law, Finnish-American wife of a CIO organizer in Gray's Harbor, Wash., has aroused the Northwest. Howard Costigan, Commonwealth Federation chief, demands action from the Department of Justice in the premeditated terror begun in the Aberdeen region with the December 2 vigilante raid on the Finnish Workers Hall. Investigation will reveal prominent business men involved in murder, says organizer Law.

Turkey's New Year's earthquake destroyed communications with the Soviet oil-bearing Transcaucasus and set back the maturing Allied plans for an anti-Soviet front in the Balkans. The recent Allied bribe for Turkey's bad will toward the USSR will not even begin to repair the ravages of the quake.

The idea of exhibiting the Dionne quintuplets in the plot formerly occupied by the Soviet Pavilion at the World's Fair has aroused loud protests from Toronto business men for whom the girls are a number-one tourist lure. His majesty's government will exact a price for the girls, perhaps five divisions for service in Finland.

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The Well of Indignation

William Blake examines the rather opaque version of history according to Ralph Bates. Marxism and Realpolitik. Who does what to whom.

No BRITON bold of the grand old school can possibly go to war or take a stand against any other nation save upon grounds of deep moral outrage. In 1914 Sir Edward Grey was all for peace and understanding with Germany. Alas, in the twinkling of an eye, the violation of Belgian neutrality so moved his ethical center that he was compelled to conduct a four-year crusade to wipe out this single stain on the Holy Grail that is Europe. The "invasion" of Finland so moved Ralph Bates that instantly he perceived (like a sinner to whom heaven is opened in a flash) that years of loyalty to the Third International had been at the service of an illusion. For the Finnish business became acute on the first of December, and by the next day, like a drowning man who sees his life open before him (telescoped backwards), Mr. Bates revolved the history of the last few years. Nay, so animating is moral indignation to a well conducted Briton that this instantaneous revelation became as systematic and detailed as the lifework of an encyclopedist among the lesser ethical races of man.

Steve Nelson, former political commissar of the Fifteenth (International) Brigade in Spain, has gone deep into the human explanation of this strange affair. I cannot rival his impressive and sincere letter (January 9 issue of NEW MASSES). My aim is humbler. It is to examine, in a Marxian sense, the arguments of Ralph Bates, to identify their religious and anarchistic sources, and to inquire into the composition of that hard verbal veneer by which gifted literary men cover themselves with a Marxian gloss, when they have no Marxian substance.

Bates' assumptions in his article in the December 13 *New Republic* follow upon this wise. I have divided them into two sections, summarizing the first as follows:

> The USSR feared with considerable reason that Britain wanted to turn Germany against her. She sought an alliance with England and France to maintain peace and her security. To further this worthy effort she tried to enlist liberal and socialist support. The effort failed. But as her original motive was a species of *Realpolitik*, the Soviet Union then sought to placate Germany. This move makes her more dependent on Germany and hence she approximates German thought and tactic, such as reliance on force and indifference to world opinion. But the foregoing thesis requires "great qualification."
>
> The Soviet's popular front policy was wise and not cynical. It was an admirable instrument for peace and liberalism. But the policy was ditched at a moment's notice by the USSR, its originator.
>
> This led to tragic results. The Soviet policy had created mass anti-fascist sentiment. This is now utilized against "Hitlerism" by Chamberlain and Daladier. But their war with Hitler may not have this ostensible basis. In fact, this is an imperialist war. But when the Communists so characterize it they can be accused of treachery, since they once cited Hitler as the enemy. Proof, had war broken out over Czechoslovakia, Britain and France would have been fighting to preserve their empires. Communists so persuaded them. But now the USSR, having changed sides, asks for peace and the consecration of conquests. True, these conquests have improved Soviet security, but that safety has a dire price, the sacrifice of liberals abroad, rebuked for working with a power that has accepted the technique and morality of fascism.
>
> The USSR has acted not by theory but by the imposed needs of *Realpolitik*. The popular front failed because the contradiction of capitalist democracies acting with the Soviet is too deep. No heavy blame can attach to the Comintern. Liberal and Labor parties failed it. The Communists are somewhat to blame, as they sought party aggrandizement, but in the most crucial struggle, Spain, the Communists showed wisdom, loyalty, and did nearly all the effective fighting. World Communist Parties did the same in their degrees. The Comintern should have abandoned the popular front and collective security after Munich. It might have found some other way of preserving peace. But it noted that mass pressure finally "forced" Chamberlain to deal with the Soviet Union, possibly insincerely. For this possible doubtful ally the Comintern sacrificed whatever theoretical integrity it had. The Polish treaty showed Britain as not in earnest re the USSR. Stalin finally grasped some of Munich's meaning. But his mind is of the either-or variety. Hence he must approach Berlin. This is a success in *Realpolitik*. But for progress and peace it is a disaster.
>
> However, Bates is far from supporting the view that the interior politics of Germany and the Soviet Union are similar. They are definitely not military allies. Land will be given to the Finnish peasant and aid to the petty bourgeois. But war is not a socialist method of spreading socialism. And the Terijoki regime is reformist. Hence it is pure fascism.

Above, I have cited Bates' fundamental arguments. But in addition thereto he has aphorisms and maxims and a supposedly factual examination of the Finnish affair stewed in a heavy gravy of malicious wit, that testifies to a long cooking of resentments against the Soviet Union.

He calmly advises that *Realpolitik* has uniformly produced disaster. The word "peace" sounds suspect when uttered by a socialist state in conflict. Liberals have supported Soviet policy heretofore because it was "right." Capitalist powers require an ethical device to assail the Soviet Union, and in the Finnish move, Stalin gave them that device.

On the factual side, Bates ridicules as legendary the Polish submarine, which the Soviet government charged Estonia with permitting to escape from its port, Tallinn; accepts the tale of wanton civilian bombings by the Soviet Union; makes fancy analogies with the occupation of Austria by Hitler; and finds an entertaining identity of excuses—Goebbels citing the airdrome capacity of Czechoslovakia, and the USSR of Finland. He makes capital of the German press' endorsements of Soviet moves in Finland. Nor is there any evidence, he states, that the Finns are even discontented with their government. The Finns yielded nearly everything, but the Soviet wolf accepted no bleats from the Finnish lambkin. The border incidents are either invented or, in any case, are not adequate as war causes.

On wider grounds Bates contests the idea that England primed Finland as the fall guy for a spring campaign (to mix the seasons). Apparently the closing of the Sound by Denmark is a law of nature so that England can never see the Baltic. Finnish statesmen could not trust Chamberlain after the Polish debacle. Above all, Chamberlain was trying to placate the Soviet Union and keep her out of Germany's arms. Finally, should Finland allow herself to be used as a foreign base, the USSR could then justifiably punish Finland and do it with ease.

That's Ralph Bates' story. This is the alleged case for which he turned his back upon the Soviet Union and broke with a host of personal friends.

IMPERIALIST WAR

The argument of the first section agrees that this is an imperialist war. Bates disguises the terrible implications of that fact by saying that had war broken out over Czechoslovakia it would have been imperialist and the USSR would have supported it. No, it did not take place, because it would not have been imperialist had it occurred. Imperialists fight imperialist wars. In the case of Czechoslovakia, that defense would have strengthened democracy, destroyed fascism, and enthroned the Soviet Union in the East as the liberator of mankind from tyranny. The dilemma that Bates puts to friends of the USSR is the essence of the argument against him. The USSR was the touchstone. If Britain and France had been allied with her in fact, it would have showed that the mass pressure in those countries was so great as to modify the class content of their external policies.

There is no "England" and no "France" in this sense. There are two states, governed by capitalists, modified by class pressures. The ebb and flow of these pressures are what is called "politics." If they acted with the Soviet

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Union, there would have been no war at all. For the Soviet policy was to confront Germany and Italy with overwhelming force, so that they were assured of disaster if they sought armed conflict. The policy of the Soviet Union was not of war against fascism at all. That is the content of Molotov's statement that you cannot impose ideologies. If Bates thought like a Marxist, holding only to the red thread of class relations, he would not use this liberal gibberish. No, the Soviet policy was to stop war *and* fascism, not fascism *by* war. Peace is the murderer of fascism. Fascism can solve nothing ultimately by peace, so fascism must seek adventure. Not for romantic reasons but because of the relentless pressure of accumulation and the renewal of production relations as detailed in the third volume of *Capital* and in Lenin's *Imperialism*. Hence the capitulation of Munich showed that England and France were agreed that Germany must have a martial "escape" from its difficulties.

SOVIET PEACE POLICY

The ignoring of Marxism makes the rest of Bates' pompous thesis equally ludicrous. The Soviet Union for eight years opposed invasion in Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania. The British and French states connived at these crimes. The Soviet urged disarmament and the moral police of Article XVI of the League Covenant. The capitalist states all opposed these true ameliorations. Why? Because war is the breath of their lives, and the armament displacements, the dragooning of domestic labor, and enslavement of colonial labor are not accidents of policy but their very oxygen. Suddenly we learn that the Soviet Union has changed this lifelong character, although Mr. Bates offers no proof of any change in its class content or the nature of classes in production relations. For he has hitherto contemned the Trotskyist impeachments of the socialist character of Soviet economy. He can make no such plea.

Throughout his treatment there is the banal idea that Chamberlain was forced by mass pressure to treat with the USSR. No, Chamberlain's treatment of the USSR was based on a simple equation: the Soviet Union was bound to the democracies. She was immovable. He could trade away her safety while she remained fixed in the democratic orbit. It was a sure-fire option on an alliance he need never bring about. Hence his negotiations with the Soviet Union were deliberate: that is, they were modes of immobilizing her while she was betrayed. Just as he served Hitler under the guise of seeking an alliance with the USSR, so he betrayed Poland under the guise of making her an ally. It may be too much for Bates to realize that the form of war often conceals an implicit alliance and the form of alliance an implicit war. If not for this, diplomacy could be practiced by ten-year-old children. That's just what makes it so devious. Like all capitalist institutions, the superficial appearance *must* be the opposite of its class significance. If Bates had pondered the works of Marx on diplomacy, especially those on the Crimean War, he might never have penned his lines. A homely illustration: The slaveholding move of the Southern planters in 1861 took the *form of secession,* of weakening, of becoming smaller.

WHICH CONTRADICTIONS?

Bates agrees that the Soviet Union sincerely sought popular fronts and collective security. But the contradictions were too deep. Contradictions of what? Of classless economy? Or of class interests? If the latter, how dare he speak of the Soviet Union ditching that which the others made impossible? That the USSR created mass anti-fascist sentiment (now utilized by the imperialists) is true. And let them beware! They sought to utilize the billion-kilowatt power of the love of democracy. It will serve as the imperishable source of liberty throughout Europe. What an oligarchy can deflect temporarily, a people can utilize forever. And the people will want other leadership than that of the misty cartographer, Bates, who bases his timing of Soviet policy on the cheerful guess that it "might have found some other way of preserving peace." To indict the known against the unknown is the last dodge of every sophist. The welfare of hundreds of millions is not entrusted to a hazard.

Since Bates agrees that the Soviet Union's safety is enhanced, to what does he ascribe the weakening of peace and progress abroad? To the Comintern? No, the contradictions were too deep, and he nearly acquits the Comintern. To the policy of class collaboration, then, to the yielding by his cherished liberals and laborites to their governing class? This occurred before Munich, after Munich, all the time, in fact. Are we, then, to believe that groups which sabotaged the peace policy of the Soviet Union, such as the great Labor Party of England and the Radical Socialists of France, have met with disaster because of the Finnish move of the Soviet Union? Had she not so moved, naturally, that this might not have occurred? The argument for Bates? That all experience is against him, the testimony on the negative side being exactly 100 percent.

What is the Soviet Union? The Lamb that taketh away the sins of the World? No, it is the first state to abolish exploitation. It moves in a dangerous ambient for that reason. It does what it can, given the calculus of its forces. It requires that the forces of its class enemies be weakened by the workers and their allies abroad. When these groups are not sufficiently active, it must look to its safety. Socialist statesmanship can be dubbed *Realpolitik* if you wish. No harm done. Let Stalin have a *Realpolitik* for the workers as Chatham had for the rising bourgeoisie in England, and we need ask no better.

What is back of Bates' dread of *Realpolitik* is the anti-Marxist debris of his church upbringing. Hence his ethical objections. But if he speaks English it is because of the *Realpolitik* of Anglo-Saxons. If skyscrapers and not wigwams cover the site of Chicago's Loop, it is because of *Realpolitik*. Marx has taught us that all we have and are is the resultant

Hayle

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of class conflicts, aiming at a material basis for class power. Here the *rentier* comes out in Bates. He wants to walk on a Piccadilly, read books in a library, attend concerts, have a good dinner, all this as part of an ethical culture, while ignoring the slavery of those that raise our spices in the Tropics, that sweat to produce book pulp in the forests. Everything we eat, wear, read, hear, in so far as man produced it, is at all times a temporary fixation point of class dynamics, an unstable social compound given temporary form. Just as the world is spinning about at a sickening pace while we think we are serene and quietly meditative. *Realpolitik* is not the cause of our woes, it is history, and the ethical expressions it utilizes are those of service to each class to animate its activities. That's why Bates doesn't like Soviet activities in Finland. They are *Realpolitik* at the service of another class. Hence he assimilates the techniques of the conquest of Austria for class plunder to the freeing of tens of millions of peasants and workers. Hence he thinks Marxists embarrassed when they call for peace though engaged in conflict. Not at all. They ask for peace as the only policy useful to useful people: they resist the attempt of exploiting class statesmen to make them the scapegoats of history. Were there peace among capitalist states, there would be infinitely slenderer possibilities of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The anarchist in Bates comes out in that he does not sense a vortex. He images the Soviet state as though it can freely turn its back on history in the way that Thoreau in Walden Wood turned his on society. This is shown by his animus that the Soviet Union lost its theoretical integrity partly before Munich. Here theory is taken as the motor of one autonomous group, whereas theory for a Marxist is the identification of the present and of forecasting as both illumined by and illuminating practice. Hence the mumbo-jumbo function he gives Stalin, whose mind being "either-or" determines the whole context of socialist policy. The Marxist regards Stalin's wisdom as itself a high expression of class needs expressed against class possibilities. Stalin has no either-or mind, he recognizes an either-or situation when that is the only one given. Where the Soviet Union can ignore such alternatives, he has followed through a one-way direct upbuilding of socialism. Is it not for that very directness that renegades have accused him of exclusivism, of not pursuing the international tasks of socialism? But an anarchist mentality cannot conceive of the wholeness of man as both socially conditioned and yet as compound of hero and sage.

The climax of this type of autonomous treatment is Bates' dictum that since capitalists require a moral excuse for a crusade, Stalin has given them a readymade packet in Finland. Does he not know that the capitalists can always do this? For the world is capitalist and there is only one socialist commonwealth. The capitalists place this state in mortal danger, within a judicial framework. Controlling the whole juridical setup, they create the dilemmas. Either allow yourself to be in danger, and hence perish "ethically," or save yourself by hurtling against our organization and thus enable us to vilify your crimes. If it suited their book, would not the pact last August have served? It was not used and the occupation of Poland to the Curzon line was even ratified!

This lights up Bates' phrase that the present struggle with Finland is not a socialist way to spread socialism. Why not? No one wishes for a war situation except a barbarian. But war situations are sometimes forced on the fighters for socialism, just as they were on the fighters for bourgeois democracy in eighteenth century America and France. The question is simply this: If Finland is, as I am persuaded it is, a mortal danger for the Soviet Union, as at present directed, then if it is to be made not noxious but friendly this must be done by way of a class that can have no interest but to be friendly with the Soviet Union, and no conceivable reason for dying for imperialists. This is the concrete issue and the only one to face.

As for his wit regarding the Polish submarine, that swam out of "the depths of Stalin's imagination" (Bates' phrase) into British ports—on December 7, the very day that Ralph Bates' article appeared, the New York *Post* published an Associated Press dispatch from London stating that the Polish submarine *Orzel* had joined His Majesty's Navy. On December 12 in the New York *Times* Raymond Daniell cabled from London the detailed story of the *Orzel's* escape from Tallinn.

When Bates says the argument that Finland is overstocked with airdromes reminds him of Goebbels' excuses of the same type for subjugating Czechoslovakia, he shows an ambulance chaser's logic. In other words, the same accusation can never be levied by two parties against two other parties, if one such accusation is untrue. A man is prosecuted for forgery; he says, no, you have the same slogan against me as against a fellow that was acquitted last week. The jury could retort, "The same charge, perhaps, but you are guilty and he was innocent." Such vulgar fallacies were severely punished in my logic class at high school.

THE DANGER OF FINLAND

Finally, Bates denies that Finland is contemplated by that nest of chickadees in Whitehall as a base for invasion. Why? Because England cannot get there. And why that? Because Denmark and Sweden, those potent naval states, can prevent England from opening the Sound (as they did Lord Nelson!). But suppose Denmark and Sweden decide to do favors for England. And then the Germans have a navy too. Aye, that's the rub. But need it be? Has Mr. Bates heard no rumors, and not from Soviet sources, that an understanding at the expense of the USSR is a serious alternative? In one day the naval power of the world could be within gunshot of Kronstadt, the artillery begin to be deposited in Karelia for the subjugation of Leningrad.

But Ralph Bates is ingenious and a match for European chancelleries. What Finnish statesmen, says he, would trust Chamberlain, after the Polish debacle? Because they know that whereas Poland was *given* to Germany to bring her to the gates of the Ukraine and Rumania and to make her invincible in the East, Finland would not be given away, since any such arrangement would require naval collaboration and so Britain would be paramount in the alliance. The springboard into the Ukraine was Hitler's business (spoiled by Voroshilov) but the naval invasion of the Soviet Union and use of Finland would be a general love feast.

But the evidence shows that Mr. Chamberlain sought to placate the USSR. Really? That he ratified the occupation of Byelo Russia? That is like ratifying the death of your aunt, when you can do nothing about it anyhow—it's over. Placate for what? So as not to ally the Soviet against England and France but to gain time to change the German regime into a puppet of Western imperialism for anti-Soviet adventures. We are sorry, Mr. Bates, but the USSR was first on the draw and like a host of movie cowboys; that's why we'll see the wedding with the girl, the world movement for proletarian liberation.

Ralph Bates' astounding feature has been his dexterous manipulation hitherto of Marxist political superstructure, as a system of phrases, without any knowledge of its economic content. But this last crisis shows that the choir boy (if he was one) and the anarchist still hold the box seats in his intellectual theater. His beauty of language, his creative fiction, and his emotional power held us in thrall, and we should be taught thereby. An ethnologist once told me that the moment any country becomes an opponent of Great Britain, it is so lost to shame by that very fact that it is compelled to record its wickedness by instantly committing atrocities. That is why Bates professes to believe in wanton civilian bombings in Helsinki.

WILLIAM BLAKE.

Scientific Theory

A TEXTBOOK OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM, *by David Guest. International Publishers. 60 cents.*

DAVID GUEST was killed in 1938, at the age of twenty-seven, fighting with the International Brigades in Spain. Like Ralph Fox, Christopher Cauldwell, and John Cornford, he was among the group of brilliant English writers who bravely and consistently applied the principle which Guest stresses in this volume: the unity of theory and practice. He fought the fascists with the same vigor and thoroughness which he brought to his fight against the metaphysics of reaction. "I could see in him," writes Prof. H. Levy in his introduction, "the eternal conflict that tears asunder the souls of all that is best in

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Guest develops his exposition by contrasting the flexible, scientific views of Marx and Engels with the supernatural absolutism and the vacillating skepticism which characterize non-proletarian systems of thought. He combines a historical survey of the controversy between materialism and idealism, an examination of the scientific validity of both, and an analysis of their social implications. His explanation of dialectics as a technique of thinking is uncommonly simple and clear, and he gives us a concrete example of the effectiveness of this method in his critique of Mach and Russell, his refutation of Lenin "correctors" like Fred Casey, and in his final chapter on "Problems of Socialist Culture."

The volume does not pretend to do more than state the bare elements of Marxist philosophy. It will have served its purpose if it stimulates readers to undertake a study of more complete works like Engels' *Anti-Duehring* and Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. Guest's book is an extremely useful introduction to these classics of Marxist theory. The fascists killed David Guest; his book will help arm the working class for the ultimate revenge.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

Sun Worshippers

FLORIDA: A GUIDE TO THE SOUTHERNMOST STATE. *Compiled and written by the Federal Writers Project of the Works Projects Administration for the State of Florida. Oxford University Press. $2.50.*

WHEN the winter wynd doth blow, the next best thing to a trip to Florida is a perusal of this fine guide to the state, sitting in a hot bath. In fact, reading this streamlined Baedeker is better for your soul, for you will know a whole lot about Florida, its history, people, places, and pleasures when you are through, while a bask on the sands of Biscayne Bay will only bourgeoisify you and tempt you to sell out the working class for a cabana and a mess of tung oil nuts.

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Naturally, any unpleasant references to the degenerate gangster political administration of the state have been edited out.

JOHN STARK.

Human Erosion

AN AMERICAN EXODUS, by *Dorothea Lange and Paul S. Taylor. Reynal & Hitchcock. $2.75.*

THIS volume is grimly and appropriately subtitled "A Record of Human Erosion." Its documentary film technique is that of Margaret Bourke-White in *You Have Seen Their Faces;* its subject matter is that of John Steinbeck in *The Grapes of Wrath.* The combination is overpowering. We begin our still-picture journey in the Old South: the poverty-stricken Negroes in the fields of Alabama, the young Georgia sharecropper on $5 a month "furnish" ("A piece of meat in the house would like to scare these children of mine to death"). The same story of filth and human degradation, the heartbreaking story of slums and rickets, as we move west to Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas ("They come off the plantations 'cause they ain't got nothin' to do, . . . They come to town and they *still* got nothin' to do"). . . . And then the dust bowl, the migrants on U. S. 66 ("I'm goin' where the climate fits my clothes"). . . . Texas, poll taxes, the men with puzzled faces ("Where we gonna go? How we gonna get there?"). . . . And at last California, the land of golden promise, with the sleepy Oklahoma child carrying the cotton sack to the fields at 7 a.m., and the family of eleven children with the prematurely old father saying, "I've made my mistake and now we can't go back. I've got nothing to farm with." The company shacks, the pickers in the fields, the vigilantes. . . . And finally the beginnings of organization, with the alert faces in the meeting hall, the Tom Joads in the front seats. These are Americans, hundreds of thousands of them, in our own time and in our own land. A record of human erosion—and Mr. Roosevelt cuts down on WPA to send planes to "poor" Finland. It is enough for bitter tears—and action. M. W. D.

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The Happy Ending

THE CRADLE BUILDER, *by Walter Schoenstedt. Translated by Richard Winston. Farrar & Rinehart $2.50.*

SCHOENSTEDT'S preceding novel, *In Praise of Life,* gave us the story of Peter Volkers' childhood and youth in the Germany of World War, inflation, and Storm Troopers. In 1933 Peter escaped to America. *The Cradle Builder* is a more tranquil account of his life here in search of security for himself and his American wife and unborn child. Of his problems—which are also in large part the problems of his fellow emigres—Schoenstedt writes with a fine quality of sympathy and insight. Life is tough on these uprooted Germans and for Peter it is complicated by a sensitive appreciation of freedom as well as safety. His wife, Ellen, however—whom Schoenstedt seems to admire—is a "primitively sensuous" woman without a thought for anyone but her own family and a sort of American Dream of a home where copper pots and bowls stand on a brown-painted shelf.

To such a home they finally come—through a legacy from Ellen's mother—a little place in Dutchess County, N. Y., where the baby is born and Peter can read American history by the fireplace at night. War may break out, their economic footing is secure only for the present, Peter's German-born friends still suffer. Yet the author leaves his chief characters in this nostalgic, *Saturday Evening Post* conception of American life with the implication that it is not only real in their case but possible for others. The trick "happy ending," in a book which raises as serious problems as this one does, is more than an evasion—it is social falsification.

BARBARA GILES.

Anton Rubinstein

"FREE ARTIST": THE STORY OF ANTON RUBINSTEIN AND HIS BROTHER, *by Catherine Drinker Bowen. Random House. $3.*

A WOMAN who sees the heroes of the 1849 revolutions as "republican rabble" and has her musicians skirting preciously home from the "contaminating air of republicanism" isn't especially equipped to write Anton Rubinstein's biography. Rubinstein could laugh off the title granted him by anti-Semitic Czar Alexander III, and say, "Despots never think the people ripe enough for freedom."

The brothers Rubinstein, Anton and Nicholas, gifted pianists and composers, moved out of the ghettos of the early 1800's to world renown. They established the two great Russian Conservatories of Music. Nicholas died early. Anton lived long enough to distribute his money to the needy, to poorer students for scholarships. His first concert in Moscow was for the poor, his last in St. Petersburg (Leningrad) for the blind. The story of his life needs people for its background. Unfortunately, Miss Bowen sentimentalizes it, waters it down in her preoccupation with the finery and medievalism of the Russian court. O. B.

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Facts on the Wind

"Pierce the shell of the CSA," said General Sherman, "and it's all hollow inside"... which might also define the factual basis of "Gone With the Wind."

THE four million dollar film about the Confederacy, *Gone With the Wind,* has become a major national issue, the subject of a vigorous attack by democrats, and the favorite parlor chatter of the upper classes. The Gallup poll has indicated the size of the ballyhoo in the claim that over fifty million people are eager to see the picture. Although the film deals primarily with historical events it has been presented in Hollywood's usual guileless fashion as a great romance. Of course, the curious fact appears that there are two versions of the picture, one for the South and one for the North, and the advertising material is cut to two fits. Lacking knowledge of the Southern version, let us deal with the edition prepared for the North.

There are three historical events treated prominently in the film: the siege of Atlanta, Sherman's march to the sea, and the Reconstruction era in Georgia. The treatment is careful in avoiding direct historical incidents, and the falsification in the picture is made by acceptance and inference. The story is told from the point of view of Scarlett O'Hara's plantation-owning class.

SLAVEOWNER MINORITY

The two plantations seen on the screen, Tara and Twelve Oaks, belong to the small fraction of extremely wealthy Southern planters. In the slave states in 1860 there were only eight thousand owners, holding more than fifty slaves apiece, out of a total slaveholding group of 347,525. The middle group numbered 83,000, or those who held from ten to fifty slaves each, and the small fry, or those holding under ten slaves, totaled 254,000.

The total population of the slave states in 1860 was nine million, of which 3,500,000 were black slaves, owned by the 347,525 masters. *Gone With the Wind* represents this small group of big slaveowners —the Wilkeses and O'Haras who instigated the bitter war. They did not represent the 5,500,000 whites in the South any more than they represented the disfranchised Negroes, for only one slave state, South Carolina, produced a majority at the polls for secession. In the election of 1860, in the South only, Breckenridge, the secessionist candidate, polled 570,000 votes, against the total of his three non-secessionist opponents, including Lincoln —683,000. It is interesting to note that Margaret Mitchell's own state of Georgia with a million population cast only sixty thousand votes in this election. How much worth saving is there in a civilization in which 6 percent of the population decides all questions? How much truth is there in a picture told from the point of view of eight thousand big slaveowners?

In the film no definite dates are established but there is a lengthy episode in Atlanta during the siege by Sherman's Army of the Mississippi, which had assaulted Atlanta because it was the most important rail terminal in the Confederacy. The year 1864 was a bitter one for the Union, whose armies had made little progress. Lincoln faced defeat in the presidential contest against McClellan, who represented the "peace" party, dedicated to bringing the war to an end and accepting slavery ipso facto. By August Sherman's seventy thousand troops had fought through to the Chattahoochee, west of Atlanta. Scarlett O'Hara is in Atlanta as General Johnston's wounded are being brought in. The city is represented as living in extreme terror, naturally due to the enemy's artillery and arson.

THE TRUTH

What actually transpired, as related in the memoirs of Sherman as well as those of Gen. Joseph Johnston, the Confederate commander who retreated into Atlanta before Sherman, removes a great deal of the mumbo-jumbo in this episode. After a brilliant flanking operation which fooled Hood, Johnston's successor, Sherman's troops marched unopposed into Atlanta on September 1, in a victory that aroused the North and ensured Lincoln's chances of reelection. Sherman's first order was dictated by military necessity. Women and children were ordered evacuated because Sherman foresaw that the Confederates might attempt to retake the city. Sherman's order aroused outraged protests from the Confederates, including General Hood, who wrote Sherman a note full of appeals to God and honor. Sherman's reply to the Southern general on Sept. 10, 1864, throws light on the supposed "atrocities" of Miss Mitchell's picture:

> . . . you yourself burned dwellings along your parapet (in defending Atlanta) and I have seen today fifty houses that you have rendered uninhabitable because they stood in the way of your forts and men. You defended Atlanta on a line so close to town that every cannon shot and many musket shots from our line of investment that overshot their mark went into the habitations of women and children. General Hardee (CSA) did the same at Jonesboro and General Johnston did the same, last summer, at Jackson, Miss. . . .

In another note to the town council, September 12, Sherman says:

> My orders were not designed to meet the humanities of the case but to prepare for the future struggles in which millions of good people outside Atlanta have a deep interest. We must have peace, not only at Atlanta, but in all America. To secure this we must stop the war that now desolates our once happy and favored country. To stop war we must defeat the rebel armies which are arrayed against the laws and Constitution that all must respect and obey.

Scarlett flees from Atlanta before the Union occupation, through a wall of burning buildings fired by the Confederates themselves, a fact discreetly omitted from the episode. She goes back to Tara, the plantation outside the city, supposedly in the line of Sherman's march. What are the facts about Sherman's march? The general orders for this stunning military blow to the slaveowners contain complete plans of the operation. Before the march began Sherman offered to Governor Brown of Georgia, through intermediaries, a safeguard into Atlanta to discuss a proposal which provided that, in return for disbanding of Georgia's militia, Sherman's Army would not molest the countryside as it marched.

Although the Georgia militia had never crossed its own state borders, had in fact been disbanded in September to harvest the corn

Gone With the Wind?

Gone with the wind? You're wrong, my son,
Democracy is on the run.
Although the Civil War was fought,
Its sacrifices came to naught;
The South is far from being done——
Gone with the wind? You're wrong, my son.

We have a land divided still
That meekly bows to Southern will,
With color prejudice the rule
In press, church, industry, and school.
Where state rights have prevailed and won——
Gone with the wind? You're wrong, my son.

What of the blackman's liberty?
Today, he is half slave, half free,
Denied his rights on every side,
Jim Crowed, lynched, and crucified,
He's even barred in Washington——
Gone with the wind? You're wrong, my son!

ANDY RAZAF.

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and sorghum crops, it was mobilized in a desperate resistance. Thereupon Sherman's engineers destroyed the Atlanta station, roundhouse, and arms factory, and the 62,000 crack troops received orders for the march.

On November 16, the great march to the sea began, on a rich autumn day, with the foraging parties deployed on the wings in a striking combined function of scouting and provisioning the troops, and Sherman looked back at Atlanta as the army sang "John Brown's Body." The man whom Liddell Hart has called the "most realistic of idealists" faced the wasp waist of the Confederacy, and the bins of corn and sorghum the Georgia militia had obligingly reaped for him.

Poor white and Negro camp followers were forbidden to accompany the army, although a unit of Negro roadbuilders followed the vanguard.

SHERMAN'S ORDERS

Strictest orders against invading homes or molesting civilians were given; only responsible officers were allowed to destroy property valuable to the Confederacy, such as mills and bridges; and the instructions to the cavalry included a unique clause revealing Sherman's social conception of the operation:

> . . . as for horses, mules, wagons, etc., the cavalry may appropriate without limit, *discriminating, however, between the rich, who are usually hostile, and the poor or industrious, usually neutral or friendly.* [My italics.]

Sherman's Army showed no consideration for the Scarlett O'Hara class, but Sherman's memoirs show the bond between the freed Negroes and the liberating army. Describing his entry into Covington, Sherman says:

> The white people came out of their houses to behold the sight, in spite of their deep hatred of the invaders, and the Negroes were simply frantic with joy. Whenever they heard my name they clustered about my horse, shouted and prayed in their peculiar style, which had a natural eloquence that would have moved a stone.

Testimony from the Southern press of the period demolishes the dark inferences of *Gone With the Wind*. The Macon *Confederate* of Nov. 27, 1864, says, "The only private residences burnt in Milledgeville were those of John Jones, state treasurer, and Mr. Gibbs [a rabid slaveholder]. It is, however, due the Federals to say they respected the families in our city." The Augusta *Chronicle* of December 5, "The enemy were under strict discipline and when privates were found depredating private property, they were severely punished by order of General Sherman." The Savannah *Republican* of December 21 asked the citizens of the occupied city to "conduct themselves so as to win the admiration of a magnanimous foe." This does not sound like the horrible marauders of the picture.

On the other hand, the testimony of the secessionist press furnishes interesting counterpoint on the actions of the South's brave defenders. Confederate deserters in small bands

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Friday, January 19, JOSEPH NORTH, Croton-on-Hudson, 8:00 P.M., Topic: INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.
Saturday, January 20, THEODORE DRAPER, Dinner Discussion, New Hankow Restaurant, 132 West 34th Street, N. Y. C., 8:00 P.M., Topic: WORLD SITUATION. Ausp. Friends of N. M.
Sunday, January 21, A. B. MAGIL, Flatbush Marxist Forum, 1112 Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., 8:00 P.M., Topic: PRESERVATION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES.
Sunday, January 21, JAMES DUGAN, Social Dance Group, Studio 7B, 66 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C., 8:30 P.M., Topic: MOVIES IN WARTIME. Ausp. I. W. O.
Sunday, January 21, THEODORE DRAPER, Town Hall, 15 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Penna., 8:15 P.M., Ausp. Philadelphia Workers School. Topic: WORLD SITUATION.
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roamed the South and the Charleston *Courier* of Jan. 10, 1865, declared that the retreating Confederates were "more dreaded" than the Army of Sherman. The Richmond *Enquirer,* Oct. 6, 1864, said that Confederate Gen. Jubal A. Earley's "demoralized" army robbed "friend and foe alike." Earley was the general who raided and burned Chambersburg, Pa., to the ground. There have been no movies about him, or Morgan, who raided Ohio, or the Confederates who slipped in from Canada on St. Albans, New York, and many other New England points.

In the film Scarlett O'Hara uses convict labor in her lumber yard after the war. When Sherman's Army captured a number of convicts pressed into Confederate Army service, he freed them.

NEGROES AND THE WAR

Gone With the Wind makes the rather curious point that the Negroes were loyal to their masters during the war. Nonetheless the first conscription law of the Confederacy exempted one overseer for every twenty slaves, and in 1864 it was found necessary to exempt one for every fifteen. The main reason why the Georgia militia was kept in the state was to ensure the "docility" of Scarlett O'Hara's slaves. In January 1864, Jefferson Davis' own domestic slaves set fire to his official residence in Richmond.

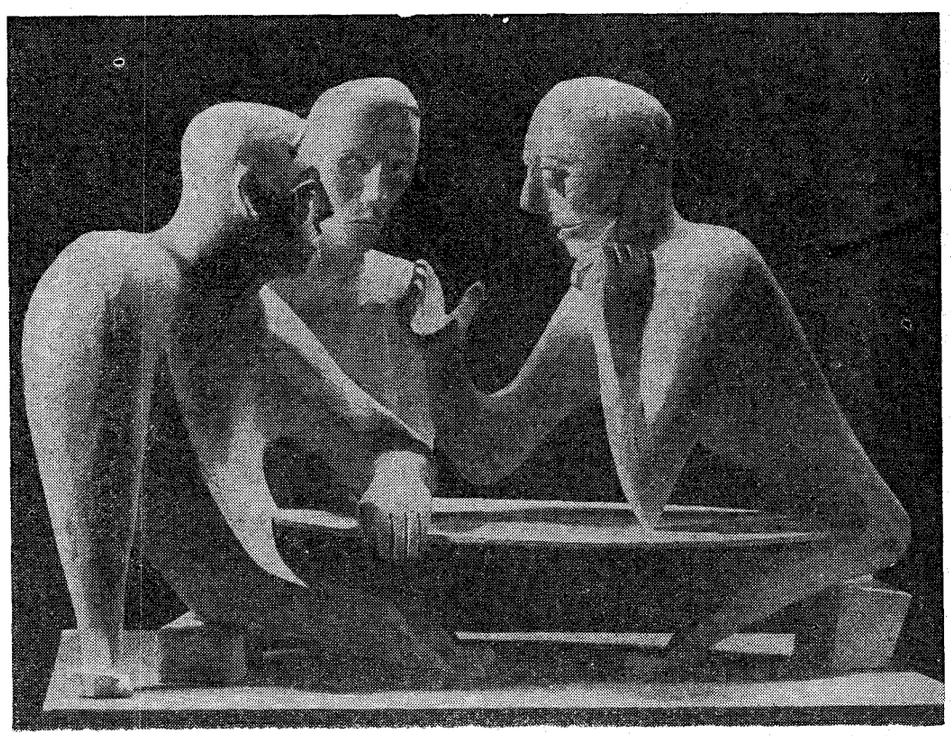
As for atrocities, listen to this on the subject of the eighty thousand Negro troops in the Union Army, from the Richmond *Enquirer* of Dec. 17, 1863: "Should they be sent to the field, and put in battle, *none will be taken prisoners.*" (Italics in the original.)

Toward the end of the war, after Sherman had broken the back of the Confederacy, there was a great deal of talk among the slaveowners about conscripting Negro troops, to replace the decimated millions of landless whites who had been engaged in a "poor man's fight and a rich man's war." The Richmond *Enquirer,* again in 1864, let it be known that the only way to get the slaves to fight for the South was to give them their freedom: "Freedom is [to be] given to the Negro soldier, not because we believe slavery is wrong, but because we must offer to the Negroes inducements to fidelity which he regards as equal, *if not greater, than those offered by the enemy.*" No Negro ever fired a shot for slavery.

Rhett Butler, the blockade runner of the film, who is engaged in carrying out reactionary England's aid to the Confederacy, represents the international conspiracy organized by the upper classes of the world whenever one of their fronts is assaulted by the people. Sherman answered him when the Army of the Mississippi had ended up the march by taking Savannah and the British consul was protesting the internment of an English blockade runner. Sherman said to his majesty's civil servant, "It would afford me great satisfaction to conduct my army to Nassau and wipe out that nest of pirates."

JAMES DUGAN.

Next week Mr. Dugan will continue his discussion with some facts on Reconstruction misrepresented in "Gone With the Wind."



COMMITTEE MEETING. *A composition in plaster, included in Robert Cronbach's sculpture shown at the Hudson Walker Gallery in New York City. Included also are two plaques from a series of concrete castings, done for the Federal Art Project, that decorate the Willerts Park Housing Project in Buffalo. The exhibition closes January 27.*

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I must work in order that my wife and baby (11 months) may survive.

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ALFRED GOLDSTEIN gives a Marxist Analysis of the news of the week every Sunday evening, 8:30 P.M. at Irving Plaza, East 15 Street and Irving Place. Auspices, Workers School.

PROGRESSIVE FORUM—430 6th Avenue. JOSEPH STAROBIN speaks on THE WAR AGAINST THE SOVIETS, Friday, January 19th, 8:15 P.M. Sub. 25c.

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War of the Sexes

James Thurber's first play, "The Male Animal."

IF YOU are terribly low in the gut, and can afford a balcony seat (to pay more would be extravagant), by all means go to see *The Male Animal* at the Cort Theater. This is a collaboration between the *New Yorker's* funny-man, James Thurber, and Elliott Nugent (who also plays the leading male animal), and I'd guess that Nugent supplied the plot, Thurber the indisputable humor.

The drama is an inconsequential soap-bubble, played well in a routine stock-company fashion, with every point banged and hammered for all it is worth; and sometimes it is not worth very much. The plot—well, college English professor Tommy Turner (Nugent) in a careless moment announced that he might read Vanzetti's last letter to his classes, as an example of magnificent writing by a man who was not primarily a writer.

What happens? Need you ask? There is also the additional complication that Turner's wife, who has always had a hankering after ex-football hero Joe Ferguson, meets him again when he returns to town to see the Big Game. Mix these things together and you have a funny evening.

Point is that Professor Turner really holds no profound convictions about the inalienable right of a college professor to hold and expound his own political opinions; he himself has none. So there is no issue. But the combination of his wife's continued hankering after the football player, and the pressure put upon him by the reactionary trustees, makes him "think." He then decides that at least he has the right to read anything he pleases to his classes—especially since he does not extol or even comment on the virtue of the ideas involved. The professor sticks by this point of view, with the result that he is sacked. Also, he attacks—after a drunken scene in which he realizes that every male animal fights for its mate—ex-football hero Joe Ferguson, and is soundly trounced. Wife begins to see that he is a Man, no Milquetoast; she stands by him.

If Mr. Thurber is at all concerned over the issue of academic freedom, you would never guess it from this farce. Consideration of the problem has been injected to the extent of about fifteen lines and forty-five seconds of time. (A few Bolsheviks in the audience, however, did applaud when the absent-minded professor defended his right to speak his piece, and said, in effect, It Hasn't Happened Here—Yet!) With that moment of rebellion disposed of, the farce returns and the audience, relieved, rocks merrily.

Mr. Shumlin has paced and staged the job neatly, and there is at least one good gag: Says ex-football hero Joe, "Why don't you read something else? Why don't you read something by Hoover?" Replies Prof. Turner, "Hoover doesn't write as well as Vanzetti."

ALVAH BESSIE.

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★

A REPLY TO LOUIS FISCHER

★

BY

THEODORE DRAPER

FORMER EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENT OF NEW MASSES AND AUTHOR OF THE FORTHCOMING BOOK "CRISIS OF THE WESTERN WORLD" TO BE PUBLISHED SOON BY MODERN AGE BOOKS

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A DOCUMENT MAKES NEWS

SWEARS FORD CASH WAS PAID TO MARTIN

Former Bodyguard to Auto Union Leader Gave Affidavit Found in NLRB Files

ALLEGES PLEA FOR $3,500

Pack of Bills Declared Shown After a Visit to Bennett—Denials Made in Detroit

By LOUIS STARK

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12—Over the protests of Charles Fahy, general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, and Representative Abe Murdock, Democrat, of Utah, the House committee investigating the Labor Board received for the record today an affidavit by Harry A. Elder, former bodyguard to Homer Martin, automobile union leader, alleging that he accepted money from Harry H. Bennett, personnel director of the Ford Motor Company, for union purposes.

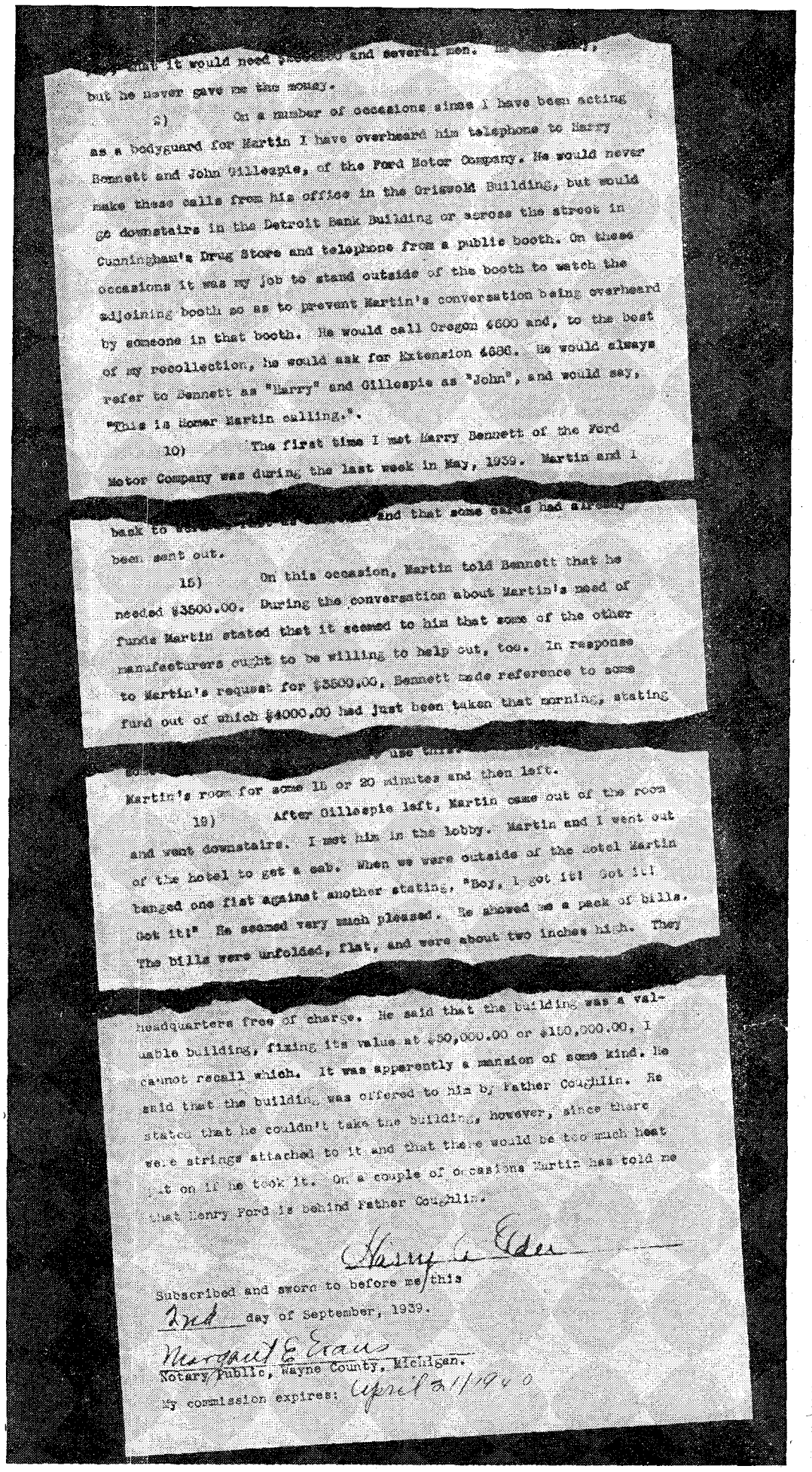
In the affidavit, Elder asserted

JAN. 13, 1940

A news item in the New York Times

DEC. 12, 1939

The document itself in New Masses



but he never gave me the money.

2) On a number of occasions since I have been acting as a bodyguard for Martin I have overheard him telephone to Harry Bennett and John Gillespie, of the Ford Motor Company. He would never make these calls from his office in the Griswold Building, but would go downstairs in the Detroit Bank Building or across the street in Cunningham's Drug Store and telephone from a public booth. On these occasions it was my job to stand outside of the booth to watch the adjoining booth so as to prevent Martin's conversation being overheard by someone in that booth. He would call Oregon 4600 and, to the best of my recollection, he would ask for Extension 4686. He would always refer to Bennett as "Harry" and Gillespie as "John", and would say, "This is Homer Martin calling.".

10) The first time I met Harry Bennett of the Ford Motor Company was during the last week in May, 1939. Martin and I

bank to [illegible] and that some checks had already been sent out.

15) On this occasion, Martin told Bennett that he needed $3500.00. During the conversation about Martin's need of funds Martin stated that it seemed to him that some of the other manufacturers ought to be willing to help out, too. In response to Martin's request for $3500.00, Bennett made reference to some fund out of which $4000.00 had just been taken that morning, stating

Martin's room for some 15 or 20 minutes and then left.

18) After Gillespie left, Martin came out of the room and went downstairs. I met him in the lobby. Martin and I went out of the hotel to get a cab. When we were outside of the hotel Martin banged one fist against another stating, "Boy, I got it! Got it! Got it!" He seemed very much pleased. He showed me a pack of bills. The bills were unfolded, flat, and were about two inches high. They

headquarters free of charge. He said that the building was a valuable building, fixing its value at $50,000.00 or $100,000.00, I cannot recall which. It was apparently a mansion of some kind. He said that the building was offered to him by Father Coughlin. He stated that he couldn't take the building, however, since there were strings attached to it and that there would be too much heat put on if he took it. On a couple of occasions Martin has told me that Henry Ford is behind Father Coughlin.

Harry A. Elder

Subscribed and sworn to before me this

2nd day of September, 1939.

Margaret E. Evans

Notary Public, Wayne County, Michigan.

My commission expires: April 21, 1940

John L. Spivak broke the story of the Elder affidavit in NEW MASSES a full month ago! Which proves that if you want to be in the know you have to read NM *every week!* Use the coupon below.

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